

A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE *World*
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.
BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

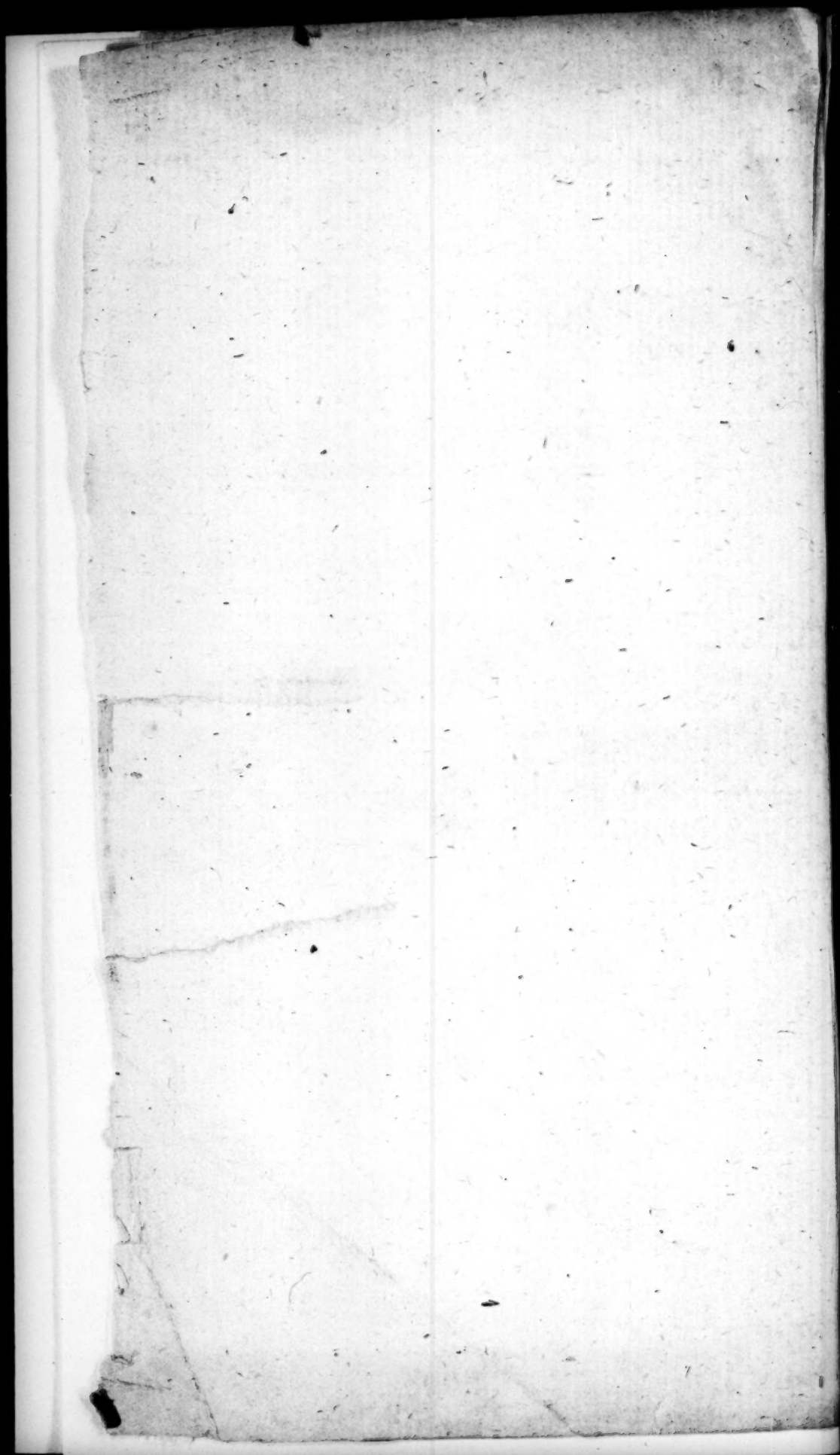
WITH NOTES, LARGE ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for W. GORDON, A. DONALDSON, W. GRAY, J. BELL, J.
DICKSON, & P. ANDERSON, Edinburgh; W. ANDERSON, Stir-
ling; J. DUNCAN, & DUNLOP & WILSON, Glasgow;
ANGUS & SON, Aberdeen; & E. WILSON, Dumfries.

M,DCC,LXXXII.



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B O O K XVIII.

English Colonies founded in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all these Settlements.

LUTHERANISM, which could not but occasion a remarkable change in the face of Europe, both by its influence and example, had raised a great fermentation in the minds of men; when there arose from the midst of it a new religion, which, at first, had much more the appearance of a rebellion, guided by fanaticism, than of a regular sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular system, composed of certain established doctrines; and when, provoked by persecution, they are roused to take up arms, their sole view at first is to defend their opinions. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the Bible for the word of command to fight, lifted

The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.

up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that the leaders of this sect had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants; and asserted, that their sentiments upon this point were the same as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet once practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon, was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought, at last, of giving some foundation and coherency to their particular opinion, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been united at first, by inspiration, to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were inspired, in the same manner, to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted:

In the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can, nor ought to communicate with any other.

The spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but extends to all; and every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

Every sect which has not preserved the community of goods, which constituted the life and spirit of primitive Christianity, has degenerated, and is an impure society.

Magistrates are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

Christians are not permitted to take up arms, even in their

their own defence ; much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers of fortune.

Law-suits, as well as oaths, are forbidden the disciples of Christ, who has commanded, that all their answer before judges should be only *yea, yea, and nay, nay.*

The baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

Such was, in its origin, the religious system of the Anabaptists. It indeed appears to be founded on charity and mildness, but has produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations, is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights ; it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. Either the masters who govern the people must be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted must be softened. There is, however, in nature, only an equality in point of right, but never an equality in fact. Even the savages themselves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only so, while they wander in the woods ; and then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A doctrine, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, could hardly find partisans any where but among the poor. The peasants all accordingly adopted it with the more enthusiasm and violence, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more or less supportable. The far greater part being condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having made a more obstinate resistance than could well

have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed ; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorised by the civil power. This, of course, weakened it ; and, from obscurity, it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the Quakers.

This humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst the confusions of a bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people ; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family ; and, for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other company or amusement but his Bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

Then he began to think of making proselytes, which he found not in the least difficult, at a time when the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose notions, upon incomprehensible subjects, could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

The first thing, by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was neither gold nor silver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button on the hat, or a plait

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in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

All the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, became odious to the Quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of Eminence or Excellence; and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of Friend, they said, was not to be refused by one Christian or citizen to another; but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off one's hat when they were saluting any person, they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number.

The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of Christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a Quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate, and in a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretch-

ed disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. Churches appeared to them merely as the parade of religion; they considered the Sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's Supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason, they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired, arose and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy. Sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited in these sectaries such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called *Quakers*. Nothing more was requisite to have cured these people of their folly, than to turn it into ridicule; but, instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. Whilst every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment, imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses; nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The magnanimity with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion, and afterwards admiration. Even Cromwel, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and discourage his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or re-
jected

jected them ; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongst the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an Admiral of that name, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwel, and the two Stuarts who held the reins of government after him, but with a less steady hand. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men commonly are in his profession, had made considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not suffered them to be repaid during his life ; and, as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that, instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in the continent of America. It was a country, which, tho' long since discovered, and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleasure of this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a hereditary sovereignty ; and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate : With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the Quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees ; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thousand.

His arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the cession of the British minister, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known ; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to sell what they never ought to

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to have parted with upon any terms ; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which the Europeans had never so much as thought of before. He made his acquisition as valid as he could, and, by the use he made of it, he supplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only ; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of settling in his territory. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in the new world, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians spreading depopulation before they took possession, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the seeds of reason, happiness, and humanity, sown and springing up amidst the ruin of an hemisphere, which still smokes with the blood of its people, civilized as well as savage.

This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every man who adored him under the name of a Christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any person to attend them.

Jealous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the

the colony ; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted ; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the circumstance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained, that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law of plurality of voices was sufficient ; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift of the citizens than a subsidy demanded by government ; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace ?

Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay 450 livres* for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of one sol ten deniers and a half † per acre.

To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to protect the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, to make those who are in possession of them purchase the law that secures them : For, in that case, one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to secure the rest ; and law, in process of time, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the very property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade, under very strict penalties, all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to demand, or even to receive, any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up any disputes that might happen before they were carried into a court of justice.

* 19l. 13 s. 9 d.

† About one penny.

This attention to prevent law-suits originated from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were directed to put a stop to poverty and idleness, even in their very sources. It was enacted, that every child above twelve years old should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, and preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

Such primary institutions could not fail to produce an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn manifested itself in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania. That republic, without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized and renewed, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

*Prosperity
of Pennsyl-
vania.*

PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the east by the ocean, on the north by New-York and New-Jersey, on the south by Virginia and Maryland, on the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles; and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene; the climate, very wholesome of itself, has been still rendered more so by cultivation; the waters equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the

the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains, and by a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west winds; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that tear up the largest trees by the roots, and sometimes blow down whole forests, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not less fertile on that account. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; in general, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds; with a great variety of fruits; with plantations of flax and hemp; with many kinds of vegetables; with every sort of grain; and especially with rye and maize, which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that liberty and toleration which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been
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the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, church of England men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumpers. It was founded by a German, who, disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and, by degrees, his pious, simple, and peaceable manners, induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outsidcs of which are bordered with mulberry and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumper is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship; and have no assemblies but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. Humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues, are the favourite subjects on which they love to discourse in their assemblies. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as of idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject, with reason, the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy, which they
abhor

abhor, and, in general, every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only administer baptism to the adult. At the same time, they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of Christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel. These pious enthusiasts wish to acquit God of all those cruelties and acts of injustice, with which other sectaries have charged him.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, they never know any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without the least danger of any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it is composed of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, to serve instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men, except the breeches.

Their common food is vegetables; not because it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion from blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it, leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their chil-

dren are sent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wise and Christian privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines. In the monastic life, the fervour of devotion is confined to a certain season. A monk possessed of much sensibility may have an inclination to be a religious till he is twenty, in the same manner as a lady may wish to be a beauty till the age of twenty-five; but, after that period, he must be a man.

What is most edifying, and at the same time most extraordinary, is the harmony that subsists between the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that we must attribute more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

In the beginning of the year 1766, its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr Franklin's calculations. There were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met with better usage in this province than in the others, but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily to be believed, is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters; their manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation, constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

The Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they become mothers sooner than in Europe, they sooner cease to breed. If the heat of the climate seems, on the one hand, to hasten the operations of nature, its inconsistency weakens them on the other. There is no place where

where the temperature of the sky is more variable, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day. As, however, these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The economy which is so particularly attended to in Pennsylvania does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number can afford to drink French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these liquors is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy sight of poverty. There are no beggars in Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still farther, and is extended even to the most amiable hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes *. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres †. Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expen-

* Eight thousand pounds Sterling are more than sufficient to answer all the expences of Government, the greatest part of which is bestowed in making presents to the savages: These are friendly Indians, with whom a good understanding is cultivated for the sake of procuring peace; not allies kept in pay for the purpose of making war.

† 12,256 l. 2 s. 6 d.

ces, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province : A circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which, in equity, they ought to have complied with.

The Penſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, have no reſtraints upon matrimony and the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the whole country. This circumſtance renders marriage more happy, and procures to it more reſpect ; the freedom, as well as the ſanctity of it, depends upon the choice of the parties : They chuſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as miniſters of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off together on horſeback ; the man gets behind his miſtreſs, and, in this ſituation, they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected ; nor has any perſon a right to give them moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors, a puniſhment, one ſhould imagine, very ſufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's ſervice a debt of 112 livres 10 ſols * : Children under 12 years of age are obliged to ſerve till they are one and twenty for a debt of 135 livres †. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the eaſt.

Though there are ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the miſt of a large plantation well incloſed with quickſet hedges. Of courſe, each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little influence. Children are not baptized till ſeveral months, and ſometimes

* 4 l. 18 s. 8 d. farthing.

† 5 l. 18 s. 1 d. halfpenny:
not

not till a year or two, after their birth. Without wrangling and disputing about modes of worship, in a country where every man has his own, they honour the Supreme Being more by their virtues than their prayers. Morals are more securely guarded by innocence and ignorance, than by controversies and precepts.

All the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives on earth before he is for ever shut up in the grave. As soon as any one dies in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his sect, or, if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They are all desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the circumstances of their burial. The reason is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private families whilst they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a beloved husband and father who has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones; because,

though there are fewer families, they are more strongly connected. Possessing a greater unanimity among themselves, and consequently more firmness, all their efforts and springs of action are more vigorous. This is the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

But from whence does Pennsylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be so copiously furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that is raised at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens, and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. They receive, in exchange, cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money, which are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations, as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pennsylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, lintseed-oil, masts, and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, England may be considered as a gulph in which all the metals Pennsylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk *. In 1723, England sent over goods to Pensyl-

* This sacrifice, which has not been less than 100,000 l. Sterling annually, has not yet freed the colony of all the debt due to the mother country. Besides, there is little cash remaining in Pennsylvania, their ordinary money being only paper stamped with the King's arms, and the name of the Governor. These notes are from three-pence to six livres. In 1755, their total sum did not exceed 80,000 livres (3,500 l. Sterling).

vania only to the value of 250,000 livres * ; at present she furnishes to the amount of 10,000,000 †. This sum is too considerable for the colonists to be able to pay, even by depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from the other markets they frequent ; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their cultures should require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies, which enjoy, almost exclusively, some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually ; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided that they are paid 150 livres ‡ for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one sol ||. The consequence of this, is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all things, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy who shall venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and in heaping them up one over another ; and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours were finished, some men, more active than rich, arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntsman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They built more

* 10,937l. 10s. † 437,500l.
‡ 6l. 11s. 3d. || About one halfpenny.
commodious

commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution, completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

The annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They almost all come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, from whence they are also dispatched.

This famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America; because it is impossible that the colony should not make great progress, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea. The streets of Philadelphia, which are all straight and intersect each other at right angles, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each side of them, there are foot-paths, guarded by posts, placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high, and are built either of brick or of a kind of soft stone, which grows hard by being exposed to the air. Till very lately, the walls had but little thickness, because they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate-quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The present buildings have received an additional decoration.

ration from a kind of marble of different colours which is their principal ornament, and is found about a mile from the town. Of this marble they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture; besides which, it is become a pretty considerable article of commerce with the greatest part of America.

These valuable materials could not have been common in the houses, without being lavished upon the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several.

The town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented, as the churches. It is constructed with the most sumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legislators of the colony assemble once a year, and more frequently, if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business; the whole of which is submitted to the authority of the nation in the persons of its representatives.

Next to the town-house is a most elegant library built in 1742, which owes its existence to the care of the learned and generous Doctor Franklin. In it are found the best English, French, and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Those who have founded it have a free access to it the whole year. The rest pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund, constantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increase and enlargement of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of the sciences, was founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764, a class of medicine was established there. Knowledge of every kind, and adepts in the sciences, will increase in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, shall yield a greater produce. It may be foretold, that theology will be the only science that will be for ever excluded from a school set apart for the instruction of a people that tolerate all religions, though they have no established mode of worship,

ship, nor do they even wish for one. This will be the only country in the world where there will be no dispute about words, and where they will not conceive a hatred at one another, on account of things in their nature incomprehensible. If ever despotism, superstition, or war, should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism from whence philosophy and the arts have drawn it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a chain of convenient warehouses, and recesses ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of frost. There they load the merchandise which has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the new world, than among the most ancient nations of the old.

It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not baptize their children. It appears to be a fact, however, that, in 1766, it contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impossible that their fortunes should not be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one sixth of the land has been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcastle, and the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. These
sectaries

sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

When they established that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken some pains for the maintenance of political liberty also, which protects one state from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itself, to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

But, on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel maxims by which the Quakers are literally governed, with that appearance of force, either for offence or defence, which puts all Christian nations in a continual state of war with each other? Besides, what could the French or the Spaniards do, if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they should destroy, in one night or in one day, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it consumes and extinguishes itself, as the fire reduces to ashes the fuel that supports it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itself, as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the just man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But, if they are tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave

leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will go and cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progress, rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing but the hatred of mankind, and the curses of posterity.

It is upon this prospect, and on this foresight, that the Pensylvanians have founded the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from behind, since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently covered by the English settlements. As for the rest, as they do not see that the most warlike states are the most durable, or that mistrust, which is always awake, makes them rest in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of satisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with so much fear; they live, for the present moment, without any thought of to-morrow. Perhaps, too, they may think themselves secured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers, or bulwarks that preserves Pensylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia.

*Wretched
state of
Virginia
at its first
settlement.*

VIRGINIA, which was originally intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country, which is bounded to the north by Maryland; to the south by Carolina; to the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This space is two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the English first landed at Virginia; and their first settlement was James Town. Unfortunately, the first object that presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, drew after it a quantity of tale, which glittered at the bot-

tom

tom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver mines were the only object of mens researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. Every other labour was instantly suspended to acquire it. And the illusion was so complete, that two ships which had arrived there with necessaries were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Of five hundred men that had come from Europe, sixty only remained alive. These few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when Lord De la ware arrived there with three ships, a fresh colony, and supplies of all kinds.

History has described this nobleman as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, the only satisfaction he promised to himself, was to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, and to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them.

The colony, however, made but little progress, a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression inseparable from exclusive privileges. The company which

exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the First's accession to the throne, and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres 5 sols * upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now became citizens, and had fixed limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to King Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the King's death; but some of the inhabitants, either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was, at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but, far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch: Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression

* About two Shillings.

upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was unanimously proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from so generous a step which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilst the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists, the parliament, on the other, laid enormous taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and, to complete its misfortunes, the savages, who had never been sufficiently caressed, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had never been yet known.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition, and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to assume a power by force, which he had exercised peaceably and without opposition for six months. His death put a stop to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences. Mercy insured obedience; and, since that remarkable crisis, the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

*Admini-
stration of
Virginia.*

THIS great establishment was governed, at the beginning, by persons placed at the head of it by the company who were the original proprietors of it. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country, which is the name the English colonists give their metropolis. They began by establishing a regular government there, which, in 1620, was composed of a chief, a council, and deputies from each county, to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room, as they did formerly in Scotland. But, in 1689, they divided, and had each their separate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

The governor, who is always appointed by the King, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia, and of all military employments, as well as the power of improving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, which has very little influence in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament: He chuses all the magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner conformable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: They frequently open the door to oppression.

The council is composed of 12 members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the King. When there happen to be less than nine in the country, the governor chuses three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper house, and are, at the same time, to assist the administration, and to counteract tyranny. They have also the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower house. The salaries of the whole body amount to no more than 7875 livres*.

* 344 l. 10 s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Virginia is divided into 25 counties, each of which sends two deputies. The city and college of Jamestown have each of them separately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant, possessed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general assembly, it commonly meets once a year, or once in every two years; the meeting is very seldom deferred till three. The frequency of these meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution of granting supplies only for a short time. All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over to the sovereign to receive his sanction; however, till that returns, they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

The public revenues of Virginia are collected from different sources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 2 livres 5 sols *, upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 16 livres 17 sols and 6 deniers † per ton, which every vessel, full or empty, is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 11 livres 5 sols ‡ a head, exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as free men, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different articles, which together amount to 70,000 livres ||, are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audite the accompts.

This assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary occasions. These arise from a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 22 livres 10 sols §, upon every slave, and one of 16 livres 17 sols ††, upon every servant, not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A

* 1 s. 11 d. halfpenny.

† 9 s. 10 d. halfpenny.

§ 19 s. 8 d. farthing.

† 14 s. 9 d.

|| 3,062 l. 10 s.

†† About 14 s. 9 d.

revenue of this nature must be extremely variable ; but, in general, it is pretty considerable, and has been for the most part judiciously employed.

Besides these taxes, which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. There is a sort of a triple poll-tax on the article of tobacco, from which the white women only are exempted. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigencies. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is parochial, raised by the chief persons of the community, upon every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

In the beginning, justice was administered with a disinterestedness that testified the equity of the judges. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less diligent in terminating them. So good a system was not of long duration : In 1692, all the statutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time, every country has its distinct tribunal, composed of a sheriff, his under officers, and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides, who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as 6,750 livres *. If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the King. In all criminal matters, the council pronounces without appeal ; not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much simpler and easier in criminal than in civil causes. The governor has besides the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence, till he has sent to know the King's pleasure.

With respect to religion, the inhabitants not only

* 295 l. 6s. 3 d.

began themselves, by professing that of the church of England, but, in 1642, the assembly passed a decree, which indirectly excluded all those from the province who should not be of this communion. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of Presbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

The mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chooses its minister, who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 1,800 livres * or 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this, he receives either 5 livres 12 sols 6 deniers †, or 50 pounds of tobacco, for every marriage; and 45 livres ‡, or 400 pounds of tobacco, for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all these advantages, most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

At first, the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. In the beginning, they gave 2,250 livres || for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of wisdom and virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition, went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that, in 1703, there were 66,600 white people in the colony. If, since that time, they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration, occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

* 78 l. 15 s.

† About 4 s. 11 d.

‡ 1 l. 19 s. 4 d. halfpenny.

|| 98 l. 8 s. 9 d.

The first of these slaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable; but the increase of them has been so prodigious since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first, in exhausting the population of Africa, and, secondly, in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

Virginia has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be useless in a province, which, from its situation and the nature of its productions, is sufficiently protected both from foreign invasions, and the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times, a year. Upon the least alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it, for reasons which must be explained.

Maryland is detached from Virginia.

CHARLES the First, far from having any aversion for the Catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal which they had shewn for his interest, in hopes of being tolerated. But, when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced Lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which

which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion, for which they had left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, gained by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the same prudent councils of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: The view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions.

The Catholics of Maryland gave up, at length, the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

These precautions, so suitable to the welfare of society, did not, however, secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the Second; after which, they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration, and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter

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BOOK XVIII. EAST AND WEST INDIES. 33

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charter

charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the Second; and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been never to have known his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think, that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore of what the two kings, his father and brother, had given him, when he was himself removed from the throne which he filled so ill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority; which, however, they likewise recovered, upon becoming members of the church of England.

The province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in England, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly, that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

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ductions.*

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure, and subtle, as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature. In summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable

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disagreeable circumstance in the climate, is the numberless nauseous insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables, succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes sandy; and it is more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade, by facilitating the communications, than any other part in the new world.

Most of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack, above eighty up the James, the York, and the Rapahannock, and upon the other rivers to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeake, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent, reaches above two hundred miles into the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Though this bay is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, and so large that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large plantations or towns in the two colonies; and accordingly the inhabitants, who were assured that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life united to all the ease that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had

had no bounds, united to all the assistance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists; first, because her sailors were longer absent, by being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations; and, secondly, because their ships are exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infest all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint of the laws has not had more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of all the rivers, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution, from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be a question, whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population; and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James-town, the other upon those of St Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil, so it has happened, that the encrease of habitations, by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

These numerous and general expences have exhaust-

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ed the inhabitants; besides which, they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the English merchants, who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands to get out of it; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine *per cent*.

It will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their shipping does not amount to above a thousand tons; and all they send to the Caribbee islands in corn, cattle, and planks; all they send to Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry, and walnut-tree, or cedar wood, does not bring them a return of more than 1,000,000 *. The only resource they have left is in tobacco.

Tobacco is a sharp, caustic, and even poisonous plant, which was formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff.

It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Yucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscous; its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour, and are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence, but rich, even, and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

* 43,750 l.

The seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at least, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is two feet and a half high, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a great distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner, that the air may have a free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long as is necessary to dry them well. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as
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in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But, in process of time, the demand for this herb became so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present, each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces, as in the rest of North America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship; and, if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they were, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays 45 livres * freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers †. This difference is owing to the value of the merchandize, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage; but this is made up to him by the commissions. As

* 1 l. 19 s. 4 d. halfpenny.

† 1 l. 14 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five *per cent.* upon these commissions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other fertile places, is extremely dear; but the whole, taken upon an average, sells only for 4 sols 3 deniers * a pound in England, which makes in all 16,875,000 livres †. Besides the advantage to England of exchanging its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of three-fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres ‡, besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

The custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of 11 sols 10 deniers and a half §, upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom. This, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 47,499,967 livres 10 sols ||; but as three-fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 sols, 7 deniers †. Experience teaches, that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports, as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 sols, 6 deniers ** ; and there will consequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers ††.

* Not 2 d. farthing.

† 738,281 l. 5 s.

‡ 442,968 l. 15 s.

§ About 6 d. farthing.

|| 2,078,123 l. 11 s. 1½ d.

† 831,250 l. 0 s. 1 d. farthing.

** 277,084 l. 2 s. 11 d. farthing.

†† 554,168 l. 16 s. 4 d.
(halfpenny.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, and even than Carolina itself.

CAROLINA, which extends three hundred miles along the coast, and is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after their first expeditions into the new world; but finding no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they despised it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century, who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile soil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a less agreeable climate.

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THERE was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the Lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, and Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir William Colleton, obtained from Charles the Second, 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration

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in matters of religion; but, not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at least, to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to

make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refuse them in Europe: It would therefore be a breach of good faith, to persecute them, after having given them a welcome reception. Nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindness, which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was the reasoning of Mr Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in question.

It may be doubted, if the philosophers, who, after his example, have endeavoured to discover the doctrine of toleration in the gospel, have been able to find it there. Toleration is, in general, a principle diametrically opposite to that spirit of making proselytes, which prevails in all religious systems. Though the founder of the Christian system had preached peace, as well by his precepts as his example; though the principle of toleration may be drawn from many texts of the New Testament; in particular, from the answers Jesus made to his judges upon his examination, and even from the silence he observed, when they asked him "what was the truth?" though in fine, the whole of his conduct and life, seemed intended to teach men to bear with one another's failings, and consequently their errors; yet Christianity is not less intolerant than other sects. When its peculiar doctrine is taken into consideration, the exclusive preference it requires, the intestine animosities it occasions between its disciples and the Pagans, between the members of the same city, and even the same family; these too often contradict its general maxims, which incline towards benevolence and universal toleration. He who calls himself "the God of peace" says, that "he came not to send peace, but a sword;" rejects those who would not hear him; declares, that whosoever was not for him, was against him; in fine, gives to all, who embraced or preached his gospel, a right or pretext to persecute such as would not submit to it. It is, therefore, a mere illusion, to give implicit credit to this gospel, and, at the same time, to be indifferent about the success of

of other systems of religion. In matters of religion, men cannot love, without hating; and possibly they may know no more about what they love, than what they hate. Hence the numberless persecutions and wars that religion has always kindled; and hence the little influence it appears to have on the harmony, happiness, and stability of society.

Meantime, this people, tired of the troubles and misfortunes which this religion had given birth to in Europe, readily acquiesced in the arguments of Locke. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should, at the age of seventeen, register themselves in some particular communion.

The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it was, that those, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracks which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive, that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with

with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance; they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to be possessed of fourscore thousand. The persons, on whom these honours should be bestowed, were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable, a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the continuance of three lives.

The lower house was formed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than 1 livre, 2 sols, and 6 deniers * per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the first order they should receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to discover themselves. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests, arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful effort of industry. The whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progress, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation.

Nor were these evils sufficient: New ones arose, as if a remedy could only be attained from an excess of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, was, in 1705, sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two-thirds of the people, to embrace

* About 1 s.

the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered, and put to the sword: But the courage and vigour which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped, in 1728, of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to abuse. They received, however, 540,000 livres * by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government; and, in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated †.

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But, on the other hand, here, as well as in almost every other part of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regi-

*Climate
and pro-
duce of
Carolina.*

* 23,625 l.

† The eye delights to behold it, and the heart loves to dwell upon it.

men in their diet and clothing, which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the West-Indies.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land, where the country, beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, and a purer and drier air. This place, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing, as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means, more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months, in other climates*.

The soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast, and about the mouths of the rivers, it is either covered with useless and unhealthful morasses, or made up of a pale, light, sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part, it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. As you advance from the coasts, there are sometimes found large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; there are other lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These alternate variations cease, when you get into the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are bred here, which go out in the morning without a herdsman to pasture in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs,

* Besides this, it possessed another advantage for improvement. The roots of the trees which had been cut down, were observed to die in a very little time; a proof that the land was sandy and poor, or that the woods drew their sap and life rather from the air and sky than from the earth.

which

which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason, it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted only of four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exportation to other parts of America, and to Europe, did not exceed 4,950,000 livres *. Since that time, it has acquired a degree of splendour, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it has succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, has gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff, by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet its progress is principally to be attributed to the culture of rice and indigo.

The first of these articles was brought there by accident. A ship, on its return from India, ran aground on this coast. It was laden with rice, which, being tossed on shore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity, to which the soil seemed of itself to invite them. For a long time, little progress was made in it; because the colonists, being obliged to send their crops to England, from whence they were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, sold them at so low a price, that it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when they were permitted, by a more enlightened administration, to export and sell their grain themselves at foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented, and may be still more; but it is doubtful whether this would be of any real advantage to the colony. Of all productions, rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate; at least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are all of them fallow complexioned and dropsical, and, in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had, without

* 216,562 l. 10 s.

doubt, its precautions against the ill effects of a grain in other respects so nutritious. China must also have its preservatives, which art sets up against nature, whose favours are sometimes attended with pernicious consequences. Perhaps, also, under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greatest abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the midst of water, quickly disperses the moist and noxious vapours that exhale from the rice fields. But, if the cultivation of rice should ever come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

This plant, which is a native of Indostan, was first brought to perfection in Mexico, and the Leeward islands. It was tried later, and with less success, in South Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of so inferior a quality, that it is scarce sold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet those who cultivate it do not despair, in time, of supplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions, the opportunities they have of supplying themselves with utensils, and of procuring slaves; every thing, in short, flatters their expectation; and the same hope has always extended itself to the inhabitants of North Carolina.

It is well known, that this country was the first in the continent of America, on which the English landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took possession of in 1585. A total emigration, in a short time, left it destitute of colonists; nor did it begin to be re-peopled, even when large settlements were established in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwise account for this dereliction, than from the obstacles which trading vessels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ships of more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burthen are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders which are employed in lading and unlading them, augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From

From this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina was at first inhabited only by a set of wretches of no character, without laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those who were not able to purchase them betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Other refugees availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

The first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a short time, they contrived to make the pine-tree, with which the whole country was covered, produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine they had nothing to do but to make two slits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: To these they set fire, and the rosin distilled into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid state. This labour, however, was soon found to be insufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: They then proceeded to sow corn; and, for a long time, were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw, never thrived. But several experiments having proved to the inhabitants of North-Carolina, that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province to join the harvests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is at present very inconsiderable, but it may increase through time.

There is scarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared ; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason why the colonists have not settled farther back in the country is, that, of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied, but by making roads or canals ; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

Neither of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 135,000 livres *. The paper currency of North Carolina does not amount to more than 1,125,000 livres † ; and that of South Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 5,625,000 ‡. Neither of them are in debt to the mother country ; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, to the Leeward Islands, and to Europe.

In 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine ; two thousand nine hundred and forty three of tar ; five thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin ; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef ; one thousand five hundred and sixty of pork ; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn ; and nine thousand one hundred and sixty-two of pease ; four thousand one hundred and ninety-six tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair ; one million one hundred and forty thousand planks ; two hundred and six thousand joists ; and three hundred and ninety-five thousand feet of timber ; eight hundred and eighty-two hogheads of wild deer-skins ; one hundred and four thousand six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice ; two hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of Indigo.

* 5,906 l. 5 s. od. † 49,118 l. 15 s. od. ‡ 246,093 l. 15 s. od.

In

In the same year North Carolina exported sixty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar; twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch; and ten thousand four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and thirty planks; and two millions six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber; sixty-one thousand five hundred and eighty bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of pease; three thousand three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogsheads of tobacco: ten thousand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled, and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are immediately exported to Europe and the West-Indies, though there is no staple town to receive them; and Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which has been built in lieu of it upon the river New, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to Charlestown, to increase the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley, surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made here, from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: Of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labourers under, of not being able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for Port Royal, which admits numerous fleets of vessels of all sizes into its harbour. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and will probably meet with the greatest success.

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BOOK XVIII. EAST AND WEST INDIES. 51

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Besides the productions of the two Carolinas, which will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established in its neighbourhood.

*Founda-
tion of
Georgia.* CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land, which extends one hundred and twenty miles along the sea coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and is bounded to the north by the river Savannah, and to the south by Alatomaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, which was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the execution of this will, dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, which was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning sovereign.

This instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery, and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres * to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man, who had distinguished himself in the house of Commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution this laudable project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose himself to conduct the first

* 9,843 L. 15 s. 0 d.

colonists

colonists that were to be sent to Georgia, where he arrived in the month of January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot at ten miles distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and, inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than 100 persons; but, before the end of the year, the number was increased to 618; 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and 113 women, 102 lads, and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

This settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scots highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the banks of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year a great number of industrious Protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia, to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot situated just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.

Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah, but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony consisted of an hundred habitations, and was named Purysburgh, from Pury their founder, who, having been at the expence of their emigration, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest, in order to build the city

Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the neighbouring savages. Their project was so successful, that, as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this trade. The sale of the skins was carried on with much greater facility, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where, in less than six years time, she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 1,485,000 livres *, exclusive of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But to her great surprise, she received information, in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; and that the rest, now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into, and discovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations, as well as individuals, do not learn instruction from past misconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every abuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entire-

* 64,968 l. 15 s.

ly masters not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of them, tho' contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia, to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to alienate, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. It is true, this last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country, but upon the prospect of some great advantage, that works strongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are prescribed to his industry, are, therefore, so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation, must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, and prevented its increase.

The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, are very inconsiderable; and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service, increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive that the smallest duty, imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another, which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of humanity. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other

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other colonies having been established without the assistance of negroes, it was thought that a country, destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother country, than their neighbours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage, and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which so many obstacles give rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum into the colony. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholesome, and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with the West Indies, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the rum of those islands.

The mother country, at length, perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was settled on the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and, instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

Though this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil as the neighbouring province, and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions, yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the

the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government, which have with too great reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least populous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida; a province, which, from its vicinity, must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention from still more important reasons.

UNDER the name of Florida, the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often been content with preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themselves, were desirous, in 1565, of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small settlement there.

*History of
Florida.
Its cession
from the
Spaniards
to the
English.*

The most easterly plantation in this colony was known by the name of St Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the sassafras tree.

This tree, a native of America, thrives better in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is streight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. Its leaves are always green, and resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infusion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine

medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a grayish colour, of a sharp, sweetish, and aromatic taste, and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving paralytic complaints and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

The first Spaniards who settled there would, probably, have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, without the assistance of this powerful remedy. They would, at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St Mattheo, whether in consequence of the food of the country, or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that, by drinking in a morning, fasting and at their meals, water in which the root of sassafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distresses which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable consequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

Upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from St Mattheo, another settlement was formed, known by the name of St Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scots Highlanders, who were desirous of covering the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A serjeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that were prepared for him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner:

“ Heroes and patriarchs of the western world, you
 “ were not the enemies that I sought for, but you have
 “ at last been the conquerors. The chance of war has
 “ thrown me in your power. Make what use you please
 “ of the right of conquest. This is a right I do not call
 “ in question. But, as it is customary in my country to
 “ offer

"offer a ransom for one's life, listen to a proposal not unworthy your notice.

"Know then, valiant Americans, that, in the country of which I am a native, there are some men who possess a superior knowledge of the secrets of nature. One of those sages, connected to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, when I became a soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable. You must have observed how I have escaped all your darts: Without such a charm, would it have been possible for me to have survived all the mortal blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour, to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted itself, and has not avoided any danger. Life is not so much the object of my request, as the glory of having communicated to you a secret of so much consequence to your safety, and of rendering the most valiant nation upon the earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now make trial on myself in your presence."

The Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner's arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broadsword into the hands of the most expert and stoutest man among them; and, at the same time, laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words, accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a chearful countenance: "Observe now, O valiant Indians, an incontestable proof of my honesty. Thou warrior, who now holdest my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now strike with all thy strength: Far from being able to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my neck."

He had scarcely spoken these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the serjeant to the distance of twenty feet. The astonished savages stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger, and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind

blind credulity. But, admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture, by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact has not all the marks of authenticity, which its date, too recent to give weight to a fiction, seems to promise, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants, than in constructing of buildings, had formed only those two settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama.

At eighty leagues distance from St Augustine, upon the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, which was well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1740, and entirely destroyed it.

At the distance of thirty leagues farther, stood the colony of St Joseph, which was of still less consequence than that of St Mark. Situated on a flat coast, and exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country, it was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But, avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

Those Spaniards, who, in 1696, had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road, which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

These five colonies, scattered over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants, every one poorer and more indolent than another. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they serv-

ed their garrison, whose pay amounted to 750,000 livres *, enabled them to purchase cloths, and whatever else their soil did not furnish. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother-country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert; yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent, and disaffected inhabitants.

Great Britain was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi, by the cession France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to fulfil her project, she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida.

The English had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free and easy communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view but in the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this the English gave every encouragement to promote culture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 205,875 livres * for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers nourishment to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother-country, and the blood of the colonies.

It is not easy to foresee to what degree of splendor this indulgence, with time and good management, may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it.

By what means England may render Florida useful to her.

* 32,812 l. 10 s. 0 d.

† 9,007 l. 0 s. 7½ d.

They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother-country, and all the Protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be encreased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to inter-marriages with Indian families? And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who, from their principles, must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would the English, then, be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their corps burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering hords of savages? Surely a generous nation, which has made such great and such continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vast tract of the new world, should prefer a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb her tranquility, to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities!

The English flatter themselves, that, without the assistance of these alliances, they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring farther into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and, in a short time, must perish for want of subsistence.

But, before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broke with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were

were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be*, said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is very possible that it may succeed. Should this be the case, the English will be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests, made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely cut off.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra, either by conquest or treaty, have rendered the English masters of all that space, which extends from the river St Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that, without reckoning Hudson's bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North-America, they are in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from, and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues, without

*Extent of
the British
dominions
in North
America.*

finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions fall into the South-Sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the east she would have a direct channel to the West-Indies, by the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the freight, which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a share of the globe, that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if, while we reign in one world, we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

The English will be happy, if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure, for any conqueror, a territory more improvable, by human industry, than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that, in many parts, it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main-mast, even after mooring in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very
easy

easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance, it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the mainland. Besides this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours, without number, for the reception and preservation of shipping.

The productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but, in return, they are a long time in coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans lived upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, and left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit, fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, likewise presents them with advantages, which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

NORTH-AMERICA produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself; among these are the sugar maple, and the candleberry-myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a

Trees peculiar to North America.

shrub which delights in a moist soil, and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent, and of an agreeable green.

This substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it still obtains the preference, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: It is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, whose nature it is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision, or two at most, can be made, without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

The sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it
cools,

cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade. Honey is the sugar of the savages on our heaths, and the maple is the sugar of the savages of America. Nature every where abounds with sweets, and every where with wonders.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kinds; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *Poiseau mouche*, or the fly-bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose-colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

Birds peculiar to North America.

The spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest pease. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at most.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers.

flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome? These birds are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stripped of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark for resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

North America was formerly devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed, without opposition, all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee: But this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

THE

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals; for the savages had none. Men, while they live at large, never bring any of the animal species under their subjection. All the knowledge they have is how to destroy them. The taming of animals is always posterior to the social state. The first conquest of man is that which he makes of his equals. Till this fatal period of universal slavery, every individual has been too much engaged about his own existence, and his whole life has been altogether employed in the means of preserving it. But so soon as one part of mankind had reduced the other under subjection, and the latter were obliged to labour for masters, leisure was known for the first time upon earth. This leisure was the parent of the arts, which perhaps have consoled mankind for the loss of their liberty. The taming of animals, as well as all the other useful arts, was doubtless one of the inventions of society.

The English supply North America with domestic animals.

Perhaps this is not the least considerable achievement of human industry. Possibly, of all others, it has required the greatest talents, the most time, and has exposed persons to the greatest dangers. For, in short, there have been found, in certain countries in America, societies and empires so far advanced, as even to have attained the arts of luxury, where the animals were notwithstanding still wild, though more disposed, by their weakness or their instinct, to submit to the yoke of man than those of our own country. There were also to be seen in America places where the animals had made greater progress than man towards that state of perfection and society to which they were called by nature. They were such as lived without a master. Man had not subjected them by his threatening voice, the terrible glance of his eye, or his hand always ready to strike. He was a slave himself, and the animals were not yet in that state. The lord of nature, therefore, knew what slavery was, before the animals were tamed.

Whatever was the origin and progress of the arts, whose succession is too complicated for us easily to discover

cover how and in what order they spring from one another, America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep, have degenerated in the northern British colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

Without doubt it is the climate, and the nature of the air and the soil, which have prevented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in men, affect the principles of generation, several species of them, at least, were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every species of animal and vegetable, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their own country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

European grain carried into North America by the English.

YET there are certain correspondencies of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, at that time unknown in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty, or three hundred. The method of preparing it for

for food was equally simple. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled, or toasted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are very useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of the greatest importance in countries where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light sandy soil, agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times, without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

These causes, which introduced the cultivation of it into that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

The mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity of carrying it into execution.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that power was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. A sudden and unnatural increase of price was the first effect of this monopoly. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the

The English find the necessity of having their naval stores from America.

Swedes,

Swedes, encouraged, by considerable premiums, the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

These rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world all at once, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whose interests were all equally concerned, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might, without danger, lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end, they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants, how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country, and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour that is excited with difficulty. In a very short time, such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards, and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

The British government was blinded by this sudden success. The cheapness of the naval stores furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of
American

American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

The woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto escaped the notice of the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates in Europe. This double trade of export and carrying, had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built, among themselves, vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight; if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and, finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees that are beginning in that season to shoot out, and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. Every body knows, that vessels constructed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from several causes; but that which has just been mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French Protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious, but a bigotted prince, carried

their national industry every where into the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 135 livres *, for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are at last reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 45,000,000 †, which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure, is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping, we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity, to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

*England
begins to
get iron
from North
America.*

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal uses of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent, where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country, by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a com-

* 5 l. 18 s. 1½ d.

† 1,968,750 l.

petition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty-free; but, at the same time, it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles in land. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time, the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished, moreover, bark for the tanneries, and materials for ship building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly that, unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress of other nations, by their industry, had made in it. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America, should be permitted in all the ports of England. This prudent resolution was accompanied with

an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were, by a statute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands. The parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, 10,000,000 livres * for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will continually decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps, the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if, by the assistance of their colonies, they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at least interrupted, by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

*England
endeavours
to procure
wine and
silk from
North A-
merica.*

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation, England has adopted every measure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-ashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements,

* 437,500 l.

from

from their natural tendency, stretched forth towards the south, fresh projects and enterprizes, suitable to the nature of the soil, suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected, which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

Upon that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests, to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the English, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails; silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very considerable sum of money is annually export-

ed from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise, about thirty years ago, to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina; the mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who, with their children, might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men, coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry, and father of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the English may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 *per cent.* for seven years, on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 *per cent.* for seven years following, and, for seven years after that, a bounty of 15 *per cent.* If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the English colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

THE

THE first persons who landed in this desert and savage region, were Englishmen, who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: For which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniencies, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that, though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country, which at the same time afforded them an asylum, and an easy and a quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness

*What kind
of men
England
peoples her
North A-
merican
colonies
with.*

eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth : It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants, throughout the British dominions, of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

While tyranny and persecution were destroying population in Europe, British America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles, in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war, as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body : Endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find, that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess, in general, a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science; but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

Perhaps, it will be said, that their population is not very numerous, in comparison with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that, in proportion, we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy, competent and independent fortune, with a greater share of leisure, and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible, that, although the Creoles, educated with us, have

have every one of them good sense, or, at least, the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that, among such as have staid in their own country, no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature then punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to assimilate them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the insurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps, we shall then see that America is propitious to genius, and the arts that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially, an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From British America, without doubt, will proceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are ever to break through a sky so long clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one, the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the English clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands, for the glory and benefit of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps suitable to the greatness of the design, and aim, by just and laudable means, to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors, which the mother country condemned to be transported to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters, who had purchased them out of the hands of justice.

justice. There is an universal disgust against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

These have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being able to pay for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of those who are indented, are allowed to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases; but that is only for the term of his first contract. Besides, neither the service, nor the sale, are in the least disgraceful. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the privileges of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

But, with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers, who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland, spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled, or least happy. There they set forth, with raptures, the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam

Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in the pay of the British Government, or of Companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The English form their supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war; for a purpose more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But, in short, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope of a better lot. The means used to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are fit only to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is given out, that they are to be under the constant restraint of prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: These do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbiddance of it. They should be attached by soothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: Man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle, than to let him seek for his subsistence in some climate that is ready to give him succour. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that, by a conspiracy of the most odious nature

nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them, in the secret recesses of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation, fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, by subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests, or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into leagues or alliances, only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their authority, either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations, as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition. Those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness, one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration. Even that has been shut against you.

Princes have agreed among themselves to restore to one another, not only deserters, who, for the most part, are enlisted by compulsion or by fraud, and have a good right

right to escape; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die, where ye had the misfortune to be born; ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every species, harassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling: Ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor: Ye whom a court mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go wander in despair, and die of chagrin. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-echoed, and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers: Ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity, poverty, and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza: You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope.*

What! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not England open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need

has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnapped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings, still more miserable, of whom she composes the third class of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking, as it is apparently the less necessary; her northern colonies have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, better treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still, what must be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries, Christians, who look into the gospel for virtues more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed, that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

Let us rather say, the convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; the opinion so readily entertained that they do not complain of a state, which in time becomes natural to them: These are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but, even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

But still the Quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, has a right to speak, one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose, and said: "How long
" then

" then shall we have two consciences, two measures,
 " two scales; one in our own favour, one for the ruin
 " of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it for us,
 " brethren, to complain at this moment, that the par-
 " liament of England wishes to enslave us, and to im-
 " pose upon us the yoke of subjects, without leaving
 " us the rights of citizens; while, for this century past,
 " we have been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by
 " keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery, men who
 " are our equals and our brethren? What have those
 " unhappy creatures done to us, whom nature had se-
 " parated from us by barriers so formidable, whom
 " our avarice has sought after through storms and
 " wrecks, and brought away from the midst of their
 " burning sands, or from their dark forests, inhabited
 " by tygers? What crime have they been guilty of,
 " that they should be torn from a country which fed
 " them without toil, and that they should be trans-
 " planted by us to a land where they perish under the
 " labours of servitude? Father of Heaven, what family
 " hast thou then created, in which the elder born,
 " after having seized on the property of their brethren,
 " are still resolved to compel them, with stripes, to
 " manure, with the blood of their veins and the sweat
 " of their brow, that very inheritance of which they
 " have been robbed? Deplorable race, whom we ren-
 " der brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we ex-
 " tinguish every power of the soul, to load their limbs
 " and their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface
 " the image of God, and the stamp of manhood! A
 " race mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of
 " mind and body, throughout its existence, by us who
 " are Christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye
 " people favoured by Heaven, and respected on the
 " seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the same in-
 " stant? No, brethren: It is time we should be consist-
 " ent with ourselves. Let us set free those miserable
 " victims of our pride: Let us restore to the negroes
 " their liberty, which man should never take from man.
 " May all Christian societies be induced, by our exam-
 " ple, to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes
 " and plunders of two centuries! May men, too long
 " degraded,

“ degraded, at length raise to Heaven their arms freed
 “ from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of grati-
 “ tude ! Alas ! these unhappy mortals have hitherto
 “ shed no tears but those of despair !”

This discourse awakened remorse ; and the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries, which are as deep sunk in barbarism, by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been by ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke ; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth, there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone ?

*Present
 state of po-
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 the Eng-
 lish pro-
 vinces of
 North A-
 merica.*

Not to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to three hundred thousand slaves, in 1750, a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions ; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every fifteen or sixteen years in some of those provinces, and every eighteen or twenty in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources ; the first is, that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase, is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn, that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The

The population, says that philosopher, increases every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, people marry very early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons, who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy destructive to the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But as the lands are every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

That of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had either for nothing, or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and, if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the

“ degraded, at length raise to Heaven their arms freed
 “ from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of grati-
 “ tude ! Alas ! these unhappy mortals have hitherto
 “ shed no tears but those of despair !”

This discourse awakened remorse ; and the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries, which are as deep sunk in barbarism, by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been by ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke ; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth, there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone ?

*Present
 state of po-
 pulation in
 the Eng-
 lish pro-
 vinces of
 North A-
 merica.*

Not to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to three hundred thousand slaves, in 1750, a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions ; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every fifteen or sixteen years in some of those provinces, and every eighteen or twenty in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources ; the first is, that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase, is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn, that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The

The population, says that philosopher, increases every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, people marry very early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons, who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy destructive to the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But as the lands are every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

That of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had either for nothing, or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and, if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the

new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that, in less than two centuries, the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country throw some obstacles in the way, to impede its natural progress.

*Happiness
of the in-
habitants
in the Bri-
tish colo-
nies of
North
America.*

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans: but they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, beer, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in great plenty of things necessary for nourishment. They must be more careful with respect to clothing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families, in general, there reigns œconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquility. The female sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare, wisely dealt out in the original
distribution

distribution of the lands, has, by the influence of industry, given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and rank. Men never meet without satisfaction, when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in societies. In short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a country life as was the original destination of mankind, and is best suited to the health and increase of the species: Probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy, which so naturally follow an indulgence in voluptuousness: But there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parent and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love during their whole life, what was the object of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in British America, it is its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes united, sometimes dispersed, and originating from all the different nations of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or inclination may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities, and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who held out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissension, that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow

throw of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster, depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

What kind of government is established in the British colonies of North America.

By ruling powers, must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. British America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power. Being originally inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the Episcopal church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: But still they have their share in the administration of business, as well as those of other sects. None but Catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view, American government has deserved great commendation; but, in other respects, it is not so well digested.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in society, require, as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of governing themselves, throughout the changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus barbarous nations are naturally under the rod, and, as it were, in the leading-strings of despotism, till, in the advance of society, their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or less advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct

conduct of their early education, as soon as they know their own strength, and their own privileges, require to be managed, and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father: A prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people: Farther, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that has the privilege of thinking and speaking freely, is the rule of the government: And the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: Opinion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority not to be renewed by his successor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that existed not in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step, whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: And, because public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reason, become rulers of men. Governments, then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and welfare of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations. Public opinion, and the form of the government, follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, which the

the English, who are rational and free, have established throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New-York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is stiled Royal, because the King of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country. A select council, approved by the King, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies, and gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the King, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

The second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of Proprietary Government. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court favourite, easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, an unlimited property and authority. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased in an unknown country. Such was the original government in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the King. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives him an ascendancy; but he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, stiled by the English, Charter-government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut, and

and in Rhode Island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect and depose all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the King, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been left under the yoke of military, and consequently of absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the Court of London every motion of government.

This diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislature. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times, and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this whimsical variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a system of government.

Every legislature, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led, by the course of some large river, far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have, either within or without, by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

But it is chiefly in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that

is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family : More should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement : Some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population : The next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid doing any thing that may occasion a war, whether offensive or defensive ; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most ; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants, and the nature of its resources ; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without ; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point ; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation, which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement : These circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislature.

The moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate ; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the first dawning of truth to enlarge themselves, as reason unfolds. With proper precautions against idle fears, proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of a legislature consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by a general and public education

of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: For it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession, or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely opposite to their principles; example and discourse which disconcert and combat their best resolutions.

But, in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from idleness. The overflowing of such populations have a natural tendency towards the mother-country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society; that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses, which are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen or collected.

But the first foundation of a society for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property, and the hirelings, that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition to

one another. In vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich, on all occasions, are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a high value on their labour; while the rich always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property which they considered as sacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the partition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and precise, will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

The English colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal system which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which, being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws, which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of principle; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old: So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, and so perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances, have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass, whose burden oppressed their ancestors: They have added to that obscure heap of materials, by every

new

new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that are very difficult to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness, the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, and in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary to society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches, in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England, in order to pay for the merchandize they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export, furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

The coin current in the English colonies of North America.

There are two sorts of paper-money. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper-credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of five *per cent.* furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this representation of specie, which is received without dispute into the public treasury, and which their fellow citizens dare not refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because, as it receives interest, and pays none, it can, without the aid

aid of taxes, apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

But there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but, before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants arose that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and kept in pay 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long, and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the utmost disrepute; though it had been introduced only by the consent of the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper-circulation each colony should create for the future, and, as far as their information went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and, in the year 1769, it was softened.

Paper, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kind of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses from whence they are distributed: The pieces, which are much worn or soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

But this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population,

from

from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were, yet one may foretel, that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendor from which nature designs them, unless the fetters are broken which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

THE first colonists that peopled North America, applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. It was urged, that, as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: That, as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: In short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions, in a rising state, to be enhanced; to lessen, or perhaps, stop the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

The evidence of these principles was incontestable. They were complied with, after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves; but with such restrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic for wool of any sort, raw, or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of

The English colonies in North America are shackled in their industry and commerce.

hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to the mean and cruel spirit of restriction. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

Iron mines, which seem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

Importation met with still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandise but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras, and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in England: But weighty reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. The colonists are at present allowed to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament of 1766.

The parliament, which is the representative of the nation, assumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections of the mother country with the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal reac-
tion

tion between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But it ought to be employed to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of national liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independence among the several members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption, and when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors in the mother country, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands. So far all submission was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to political reasons, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader, by disappointing him of his lawful profit.

fit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance. Foreign importations smuggled into British America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 150,000,000 livres *, and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of upwards of 108,000,000 †, agreeably to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But, instead of this pleasing prospect, which one should imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the English government, was there any necessity, by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

The mother country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?

ENGLAND had just emerged from a war almost universal, during which her flag had been triumphant over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her, in the eyes of all the world, a splendor that must raise envy and admiration; but, within herself, she was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Crushed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 livres ‡, that cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres § a year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 240,000,000 livres ** ; and that reve-

* 6,562,500 l.

† 4,725,000 l.

‡ 145,687,500 l. § 4,881,515 l. 3 s. 9 d. ** 10,500,000 l.

nue,

nue, so far from being capable of increase, was even uncertain as to its continuance.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows injured that species of property; and an increase of stock, on a review of the finances, depressed the value of the whole funds. A terror had been struck, even into luxury itself, by immense taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. Nothing farther was expected from commerce, which paid in every port, at every issue, for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. Heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spiritous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought, amends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but dangerous to look out for, among the objects of general consumption and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every spring was strained: Every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a competition with the English, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world, could not be valued at more than 56,000,000 livres*; and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance 35,100,000 livres†, to pay the arrears of 1,170,000,000 livres‡ which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, these being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure, or to mitigate the feelings of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a steady hand, as well the present security as future pro-

* 2,450,000 l. † 1,535,625 l. ‡ 51,187,500 l.

prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burden. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

It is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies, and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a share of assistance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occasions. It was to deliver them from the uneasiness which molested them, that England had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: They ought then to aid her in supporting or lessening the weight of that overcharge. At present, when they are freed of all apprehension from the attempts of a formidable adversary, which they have fortunately removed, can they, without injustice, refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing, that money which purchased their preservation? Has not that generous protector, for a considerable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has she not lavished gratuitous advances of money, and does she not still lavish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such benefits deserve to meet a return of gratitude, and even of services?

Such were the motives that persuaded the British government, that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war, to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For, if we attend to it, we shall find that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered to furnish the troops, which the mother country had sent for their security, with a part of the necessaries requisite for an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with

with such prudence, as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognize without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Britain. Though the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience, by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony, would produce remonstrances from all the rest. Either through want of attention or foresight, neither of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth, in the year 1764, to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all stamped paper, at the same time forbade the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extrajudicial.

All the English colonies in America revolted against this innovation; and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, perhaps, the only one that suited moderate and civilized people, not to use any of the manufactures of the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whose weakness was most to be feared, were the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with, either for shew or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs, made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the seas; and they engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of all the colonists. In the southern provinces, where wool is scarce, and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the work-shop.

This kind of indirect and passive opposition, which should serve as an example to all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced

produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers, who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency, which is the natural consequence of want of employment: And their complaints, which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed, after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which, in an age of fanaticism, would, doubtless, have occasioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies was but of short duration. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance: And it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when, in 1767, they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colour, pasteboard, and stained paper, exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves, who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which, in its consequences, must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the first innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon exported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles subject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision with regard to a people, who, being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure, either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamped paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw, that government was inclined to deceive them,

them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be the dupes either of force or of fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

The dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than 1 livre, 8 sols * for each person, which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 3,600,000 livres †.

It was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected. The security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war, the increase of their trade with the savages, the enlargement of their whale and cod fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal, the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy, the acquisition of several sugar islands, the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements; all these circumstances of advantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

The colonies were not concerned lest they should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that parliament had the equity to order considerable sums to be remitted to them, by way of restitution, or indemnification.

Nor, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute to-

* About 1 s. 3 d.

† 157,500 l.

wards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it, they knew very well, that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements, and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the capital.

If the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is, because what need only have been asked, was axacted from them, and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

During almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has suffered prodigiously by expensive and bloody wars; been thrown into confusion by enterprizing and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But, notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes, for the support of the public revenue, hath, on all hands, been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorize them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but, even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority, by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, must not long possession, tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, constitute a legal prescription.

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BOOK XVIII. EAST AND WEST INDIES. PT I

The American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a British subject, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself, or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood, de-throned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has cost her so dear, and is, perhaps, the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman Catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the Papists refuse to take the oath of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government; and the jealousy it excites, authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished, without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects, without ceasing to be Americans.

These faithful colonies have likewise been told, with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in England who are not represented; because they have not the extent of property required to intitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament. What reason have they to expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgencies; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a person who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a year, is consulted in the framing of a tax bill; and, shall not

the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No. That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country, ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English, who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose, for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and permanent tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation, without consulting the public opinion, and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow-subjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least, by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes, without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them, would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be over-burdened with impunity.

*Whether
the colonies
should submit
to be
taxed?*

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be regarded; or, if their privileges should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing money to defray the expences of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes, will easily usurp

usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how that shall be laid out; and the sums apparently designed for the service of the nation will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved the least appearance of liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation or establishment of laws, relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

The provinces in British America have all the reason in the world to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of simple and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted, that their country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added, the acquiescence of those who think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep, by imposing a moderate tax; that England only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that, if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who, pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured places and pensions, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by

the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful insinuations, and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots, then, firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; and let them not despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing the representatives of America a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, population, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety, without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborn by the numerous representatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burden. Let, then, the right of appointing, proportioning, and raising the taxes, continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

From its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But, as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect, but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory; that their population being diminished, or, at least, not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonies,

nists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries, which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and, in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates, at discretion, all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the course of two centuries of incessant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally entitled by nature, and the laws of society. Shall the English, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security conspire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children? If, however, it should happen, that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country; what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from a state of the most odious dependence?

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recal to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe, and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their preservation, and to heal

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those civil dissensions which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest deserts.

Let the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealousy of their liberties; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared up, and discussed. Let them never fail to consider those as the best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to these points. This spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the ministry, which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitted spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect, and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they, in general, become familiarized to the hardships of government; and, being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states, especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thousand, among those who have

been

been once deceived; so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most, believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: And to this double mistake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing, that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty, which has hitherto prevailed in the English colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people so intelligent do not want to be told, that desperate resolutions, and violent measures, cannot be justifiable, till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But, at the same time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the necessity of choosing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition; and, though resolved not to sheath the sword till they have recovered their rights, that they should make no other use of their victory, than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the English colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of despotism have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled,

without

without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment, because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a moderate constitution, like that of the English colonies, carries, in its principles, and in the limitation of its power, a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints, by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further; because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

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THEY could not embrace a plan of absolute independence, without breaking through the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, blood, interest, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined, that such an avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation, by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be supposed that so many settlements, where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions, would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the risque it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy, and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem to demonstrate,

demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country, would prove a very great misfortune to the English colonies.

WE will go one step further, and affirm, that, were it in the power of the European nations, who have possessions in the new world, to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, seem a paradox to those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine, that if the English had less power in America, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied, that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or populousness of their northern provinces, which enable them always to attack, with advantage, the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counter-act their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprizes, and frustrate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will soon have more power when single, than they had when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation, it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the English colonies independent of the mother country?

will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprize, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers, who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions, or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or, after the example of the English colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

Let no motive, by any means, prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely, that the distrust and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus, every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

Alas! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are undermined; materials for their destruction are hourly collecting and preparing, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the

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the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened, and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America; the arts transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress; and that country, rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed it? But, leaving future times to themselves, let us take a view of the result of three memorable ages. Having seen, in the beginning of this work, the state of misery and ignorance in which Europe was involved in the infancy of America, let us examine to what state the conquest of the new world has led and invited the conquerors on the other side of the globe. This was the design of a book undertaken with the hopes of being useful. If the end is answered, the author will have discharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to society.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

VOL. VI.

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BOOK.

B O O K XIX.

IN the first part of this work, we endeavoured to describe the state of commerce in Europe before the discovery of the East and West-Indies. The slow, difficult, and tyrannical progress of the settlements formed in those distant regions, next engaged our attention; and, if we can now determine the influence which the connections of the new world have had over the morals, government, arts, and opinions of the old, the work will be completed. Let us begin with religion.

Religion. In man, it is the effect of a sense of his misfortunes, and of the fear of invisible powers.

Most legislators have availed themselves of this disposition to govern the people, and still more to enslave them. Some of them have asserted, that they held the rights of command from heaven itself; and it is thus that theocracy has been established.

If that of the Jews has had a more sublime origin, it has not been altogether exempted from the inconveniences which the ambition of the priests necessarily introduces in a theocratic government.

Christianity succeeded the Jewish institution. The subjection of a republic, that was mistress of the world, to a set of horrid tyrants; the dreadful miseries, which the luxury of the court, and the maintenance of the armies, scattered throughout this vast empire, under the dominion of the Neroes; the successive irruptions of the barbarians, who dismembered this great body; the loss of the provinces which either revolted, or were invaded; all these natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion; and the revolutions of politics would necessarily have induced an innovation in the form of worship. In paganism, now grown antiquated, nothing was to be seen but the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the wickedness of its gods, the avarice

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of its priests, and the infamy and irregularities of the kings who supported them. The people, therefore, finding none but their tyrants upon earth, began to look up to Heaven for protection.

Christianity came to comfort them, and to teach them to suffer with becoming patience. While the oppressions and licentiousness of the throne were sapping the foundations of paganism, and of the empire, the subjects who had been oppressed and robbed, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing this ruin by exhibiting examples of those virtues which always accompany the zeal of new-made proselytes. But a religion that arose in the midst of public calamity, must necessarily give its preachers a considerable influence over the unfortunate persons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy was brought forth (if we may be allowed the expression) in the cradle of the gospel.

From the remains of pagan superstitions and philosophic sects, a code of rites and tenets was formed, which the simplicity of the primitive Christians sanctified with real and affecting piety; but which, at the same time, left the seeds of disputes and controversies, from whence arose a variety of passions, disguised and dignified under the name of *zeal*. These dissensions produced schools, doctors, a tribunal, and an hierarchy. The establishment of Christianity had been begun by a set of fishermen, who knew nothing but the gospel: It was completed by bishops, who formed the church. After this, it gained ground by degrees, till at length it became known to the emperors. By some of these it was tolerated, either from motives of contempt or humanity; by others it was persecuted. Persecution hastened its progress, to which toleration had paved the way. Silence and proscription, clemency and rigour, were all equally advantageous to it. The sense of freedom, so natural to the human mind, induced many persons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it since it has been established. This spirit of independence, less attracted by truth than by novelty, would necessarily have brought in a multitude of followers of all ranks, if even the characters it was stamped with had not been fit to inspire veneration and respect.

Constantine, instead of uniting the crown to the priesthood when he was converted to Christianity, as they were joined in the persons of the pagan emperors, granted to the clergy such a share of wealth, and of authority, and supplied them with so many means of future aggrandizement, that these blind concessions produced an ecclesiastical despotism, which, in process of time, became intolerable.

This despotism was carried to its highest pitch, when a part of Europe shook off the yoke. A monk withdrew from it almost all Germany; a priest one half of France; and a king one half of England, for the sake of a woman. In other states, many men of bold minds gave up the tenets of Christianity; and the most virtuous among them preserved only a kind of attachment to the purity of its morals, though they conformed externally to what was enjoined them by the laws of the society in which they lived.

This mode of thinking will never become general and popular, unless the magistrate, who ought to be the proper inspector of every thing that is of such public notoriety as to influence the police, should put his original rights in force. Doctrines, whether for theory or practice, are, for this reason, subject to the influence of government; whose power, as well as duty, is however confined to the restraining of every thing that is injurious to the happiness of the community, and to the permitting of every thing that does not disturb the peace and union of mankind at large.

All states ought to have, as nearly as possible, the same moral code of religion, and leave the rest, not to be disputed between men, because that ought to be prevented whenever public tranquillity is disturbed by it, but to the impulse of every man's conscience; thus allowing divines, as well as philosophers, an entire freedom of thinking. This unlimited toleration, with regard to all tenets and opinions that should not effect the moral code of nations, would be the only method of preventing or sap-
ping the foundations of the power of the clergy, whether spiritual or temporal, and which, in process of time, make them become a formidable body to the state; this is the only way to extinguish insensibly the
enthusiasm

enthusiasm of the clergy, and the fanaticism of the people.

It is partly to the discovery of the new world that we shall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and sometime or other will be, introduced into the old. Persecution would only hasten the downfall of the religions that are now established. Industry and understanding have now prevailed among the nations, and have an influence that must restore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of society: The human mind is undeceived with regard to its former superstition. If we do not avail ourselves of this instant to re-establish the empire of reason, it must necessarily be given up to fresh superstitions.

Every thing has concurred, for these two centuries past, to exhaust that fury of zeal which devoured the earth. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword, through ravaged and depopulated countries, they have made it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have detached a greater number of Catholics from the church of Rome, than they have made Christians among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North America, has necessarily spread the spirit of toleration, and relieved our climates from religious wars. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of what they falsely call the Gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the extravagant ideas of superstition. The variety of religious worships, and the difference of nations, have accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. The carrying on of trade between persons of the most opposite sects, has lessened the religious hatred that was the cause of their divisions. It has been found, that morality and integrity are not inconsistent with any opinions whatever; and that irregularity of manners and avarice are equally prevalent eve-

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ry where ; and hence it has been concluded, that the manners of men have been regulated by the variety of climate and of government, and by social and national interest.

Since an intercourse has been established between the two hemispheres of this world, our thoughts have been less engaged about that other world, which was the hope of a few, and the torment of thousands. The diversity and multiplicity of objects that industry hath presented to the mind and to the senses, has divided the attachments of men, and weakened the power of every sentiment. Characters have been softened ; and the spirit of fanaticism must necessarily have been extinguished, as well as that of chivalry, and with them all those striking extravagances that have prevailed among people who were indolent and unemployed. The same causes that have produced this revolution of manners have exerted their influence on governments with still greater rapidity.

Government. SOCIETY naturally results from population, and government is a part of the social state. From considering the few wants that men have, in proportion to the resources that nature affords them ; the little assistance and happiness they find in the civil state, in comparison of the pains and evils they accumulate in it ; their instinct for independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings ; together with a number of reasons drawn from their natural construction ; from considering all these things, it has been doubted, whether sociability was so natural to mankind, as it has generally been thought to be.

But, on the other hand, the helplessness and duration of man's infancy ; the nakedness of his body, not covered either with hair or feathers ; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life ; maternal fondness, which is increased by cares and fatigues, as, after the mother has carried the child in her womb for nine months, she suckles it and bears it in her arms for whole years ; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habit between two beings

ings that relieve and carress each other; the numerous marks of intercourse in an organization, that adds to the accents of the voice, common to so many animals; the language of the fingers and of gestures that are peculiar to the human race; natural events, which, in a hundred different ways, may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeseen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live in herds, such as amphibious animals, and sea monsters, flights of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in colonies, and in swarms: All these facts and reasonings seem to prove, that man, by his nature, tends to sociability, and that he reaches that end so much the more speedily, as he cannot populate much under the torrid zone, without being collected into wandering or sedentary tribes, nor spread himself much under the other zones, without associating with his fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the wants of food and clothing require.

From the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: That is to say, of forming, by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general combination, that shall maintain the collective body and the majority of individuals. For, if nature directs man to his fellow creature, it is undoubtedly in consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the reproduction and preservation of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate, being the destination of every living being, it should seem that sociability, if it be one of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct, which leads him to the social state, should necessarily direct all moral and political laws, so as that they should be more durable, and contribute more to the happiness of the majority of mankind. Nevertheless, if we consider merely the effect, we should think that the principle, or supreme law of all society, has been

been to *secure the reigning power*. From whence can arise this singular contrast between the end and the means, between the laws of nature and those of politics? The following is the only answer that occurs to this question. It is chance that first lays the plan of governments, and reason that improves them. Upon this principle, let us examine the nature of the governments that have brought Europe to its present state of policy.

All the foundations of a particular society are lost by some catastrophe, or natural revolution. In all parts we see men driven away by subterraneous fires, or by war; by inundations, or by devouring insects; by dearth, or by famine; and, joining again in some uninhabited corner of the earth, or dispersing and spreading themselves in places already peopled. Police always begins by plunder, and order arises from anarchy.

The Hebrews, whom the plagues of Egypt had forced to remove into Arabia Petrea, were at least forty years in forming themselves into a body of troops, before they proceeded to ravage Palestine, in order to establish themselves there as a nation.

The states of Greece were founded by plunderers, who destroyed some monsters, and a great number of men, in order to become kings.

Rome, it is said, was formed from the people who escaped from the flames of Troy, or was nothing more than a nest of banditti from Greece and Italy: But from this scum of the human race, arose a generation of heroes.

Of the great nations of Europe, the Roman empire was the only one that had been formed by war; and war made these very Romans, who were so numerous, become barbarians again. As the dispositions and manners of the conquering people are almost always impressed upon the conquered, those who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome in its learned state, now sank again into the blindness of stupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when superior strength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had opened the regions of the south to the forces of the north,

north, the continual succession of various emigrations prevented the laws from being settled in any place. As a multitude of small nations had destroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vast monarchy into several tenures. The people, who gained nothing by the government of one, or of several men, were always oppressed and trampled upon in this division of feudal anarchy. Little wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, instead of those great and splendid wars that now prevail between nations.

Nevertheless, this continual ferment induced the nations to establish themselves in a kind of form or consistence. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those men, or of those powerful bodies, by whom the commotions were kept up; and, to effect this, they had recourse to the assistance of the people. They were treated with, civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them than they had hitherto had. Slavery had depressed their natural vigour, and property restored it again; and commerce, which prevailed after the discovery of the new world, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation.

To these general agitations, another was added. The monarchs could not have increased their own power, without lessening that of the clergy, and without encouraging or preparing the way for the discredit of religious opinions. All innovators, who ventured to attack the church, were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and, recovering the path of nature and of reason, discovered the true principle of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion: But this storm cleared up its horizon for ages to come. One of these persons awakened the understandings of all men, the other excited their activity. Since they have opened all the paths of industry and freedom, most of the European nations have laboured, with some success, in correcting or improving legislation, upon which the fe-

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This enlightened spirit, however, has not yet reached the Turks. They have ever preserved a faithful attachment to the maxims of Asiatic despotism. The scimitar, at Constantinople, is still the interpreter of the Koran. Though the Grand Signior may not be seen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand; yet a numerous body of slaves are engaged in the achievement of these horrid murders. The people, massacred by their rulers, assassinate the executioner in their turn; but, satisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their safety in future, or for the happiness of their posterity. It is too much trouble for Orientals to endeavour to assure the public safety by laws, which it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the despot is struck off; and thus all is set to rights. The janissaries make use of no other remonstrance. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom are strangers to the first idea of the rights of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition; the chief families pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bashaw will tell you, that such a man as he, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

The Russians and Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though they are subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say, that their government is limited; but they have never been able to persuade any sensible man that it was so. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while the indulgence of his passions is the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is ei-

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ther right or wrong but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this is not despotism, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

In such a state of degradation, what are men? They hardly dare turn their constrained looks up to the skies. They want both knowledge to discern their chains, and spirit to feel the disgrace of them. The powers of their minds, extinguished by the oppressions of slavery, have not sufficient force to seize upon the rights inseparable from their existence. It may be a matter of doubt, whether these slaves are not as culpable as their tyrants; and whether the spirit of liberty has more reason to complain of the insolence of those who infringe upon her rights, or of the imbecility of others who know not how to defend them.

Yet many people will assert, that the most happy form of government would be that of a just and enlightened despotic monarchy. The absurdity of this is evident; for it might easily happen, that the will of this absolute monarch might be in direct opposition to the will of his subjects. In that case, notwithstanding all his justice and all his abilities, he would be in the wrong to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatsoever, let him be who he will, is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like so many beasts. Beasts may be compelled to leave a bad pasture, and be driven into a richer; but the same kind of compulsion used with men, would be an act of tyranny. If they should say, that they are very well where they are, or even if they should agree in saying that their situation is a bad one, but that it is their will and pleasure to stay in it, we may endeavour to teach them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to more enlightened notions by the means of persuasion, but never by those of compulsion. . . The best of princes, who should even have done good, against the general consent of his people, would be culpable, if it were only because he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to posterity; for, though he may be just and enlightened, yet his successor, without inheriting either his abilities

lities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. Let not, therefore, these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered, that the condition of these rulers is not in the least different from that of the cacique, who being asked whether he had any slaves? answered, *Slaves? I know but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

Between Russia and Denmark is situated Sweden. Let us examine the history of its constitution, and endeavour, if possible, to find out the nature of it.

Nations that are poor are almost necessarily warlike; because their very poverty, the burden of which is perpetually grievous to them, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of getting rid of it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

It only requires a succession of sovereigns fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch, proud of his triumphs, thinks every thing may be allowed him, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers, whom he hath led so often to victory, being ready to serve him in all things and against all men, become, by their attachment to him, the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, will not venture to refuse chains that are offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

The yoke imposed by the monarch, who has conquered the enemies of the state, is certainly burdensome; but the subjects dare not shake it off. It even grows heavier under successors who have not the same claim to their indulgence. Whenever any considerable reverse of fortune takes place, the despot will be left to the mercy of his people. Then the people, irritated by their long sufferings, seldom fail to avail themselves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But, as they have neither views nor plans, they change instantaneously from a state of slavery to that of anarchy.

In the midst of this general tumult, one exclamation only is heard, and that is *liberty*. But, as they know not how to secure to themselves this inestimable benefit, the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different interests.

If there be one among these factions, who despairs of prevailing over the rest, that faction separates itself, unmindful of the general good; and, being more anxious to prejudice its rivals than to serve its country, it takes the part of the sovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the state, distinguished by two different names, which, whatever they be, mean nothing more than royalists and antiroyalists. This is the period of great commotions and conspiracies.

The neighbouring powers then act the same part they have ever acted in all ages and countries, upon similar occasions. They foment jealousies between the people and their prince; they suggest to the subjects every possible method of debasing, degrading, and annihilating the sovereignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest the throne; they occasion some form or principle of administration to be adopted, which is not only prejudicial to the whole body of the nation, whom they impoverish, under the pretence of exerting themselves for their liberty, but injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative they reduce to nothing.

Then the monarch meets with as many restraints upon his authority as there are ranks in the state. His will is nothing, without their concurrence. He must call meetings, propose and debate upon things of the most trifling nature. Tutors are given to him as to an ignorant scholar; and he may be assured, that those tutors are men very ill disposed towards him.

But what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confusion; they have overturned the state, or seduced all the members of it, by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party of the stranger. The members of the factions are all hypocrites. Attachment to the king is one hypocrisy, and aversion for monarchy another. They are two different masks of ambition and avarice.

avarice. The whole nation is now a collection of infamous and venal men.

After this, it is easy to conceive what must happen. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation, must be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they might even have been acting in a manner very different from that which a deeper policy would have suggested; that they were destroying the power of the nation, while their efforts only put a check upon that of the sovereign; that this power of the monarch, which might one day exert itself with all its force, would meet with no opposition capable of resisting it; and, that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an instant, and by one man.

That instant is come; that man has appeared; and all these ignoble creatures of adverse powers prostrated themselves before him. He told these men, who thought themselves all-powerful, that they were nothing; and they confessed that they were nothing. He told them, I am your master; and they declared unanimously that he was. He told them, These are the conditions to which I would have you submit; and they answered, We agree to them. Scarce one dissenting voice was heard amongst them. No man can foresee what will be the consequence of this revolution. If the master will avail himself of the circumstances, Sweden was never governed by a more absolute monarch. If he is prudent; if he understands that an unlimited sovereign can have no subjects, because he can have no persons under him possessed of property; and that authority can only be exerted over those who have some kind of property; the nation may, perhaps, recover its original character. Whatever may be his designs or his inclinations, Sweden cannot possibly be more unhappy than she was before.

Poland, which has none but slaves within, and, therefore, deserves to meet with none but oppressors from without, nevertheless, still preserves the shadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is at present no better than all the European states were ten centuries ago, subject to an aristocracy, which elects a king, in order

order to make him subservient to their will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preserves with his sword, as his ancestors acquired it, holds a personal and hereditary authority over his vassals. The feudal government prevails there in all its primitive force. It is an empire composed of as many states as there are possessions. All the laws are settled, and all resolutions taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the suffrages. Upon false notions of right and perfection, it has been supposed, that a law could not be just, unless it was adopted with unanimous consent; because it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right, would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impossible in a national assembly. But can we even ascribe such pure intentions to a set of tyrants? For this constitution, which boasts the title of a republic, and prophanes it, is no more than a league of petty despots against the people. There, every one has power to prevent, and no one has power to act. There, the will of each individual may be in opposition to the general wishes; and there only, a fool, a wicked man, and a madman, is sure to prevail over a whole nation.

And, indeed, this government has never prospered. Poland, that enjoys the privilege of electing its kings, merely from the jealousy of its nobles, has been only indebted to the jealousy of its neighbours, for not having an hereditary despot in the family of a foreign conqueror. It was reserved to our days, to see this state torn in pieces by three rival powers, which have appropriated to themselves such of its provinces as lay most convenient for them. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and, by a glorious action of benevolence, may the usurpers break the chains of the most laborious part of their new people! Their subjects will be more faithful, by being more free; and, in ceasing to be slaves, will become men.

In a monarchy, the forces, and the wills of all, are at the disposal of a single man. In the constitution of Germany, each member is a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that resembles most what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by im-

menſe forests, had no occaſion for a very refined legiſlation. But, in proportion as their deſcendents have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up, in this country, what nature had eſtabliſhed, the ſeparation of the people and their political union. The ſmall ſtates that compoſe this confederate republic, preſerve the ſtamp of the firſt families. Each particular government is not always paternal, and the fathers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But ſtill, reaſon and liberty, with which all the chiefs are united, ſoftens the ſeverity of their diſpoſitions, and the rigour of their authority: A prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the ſame impunity as in large monarchies.

The Germans, who are rather warriors, than a war-like people, becauſe they are rather proficient in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to ſubjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents ſuperior to the age he lived in, had ſubdued and enlightened its barbariſm; but they ſhook off the yoke of his ſucceſſors. They preſerved, however, the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, ſince the real power reſided almoſt entirely in the barons that poſſeſſed the lands. The people, who unfortunately have always been every where enſlaved, ſpoiled, kept in miſery by ignorance, and in ignorance by miſery, had not the leaſt ſhare in the making of the laws. From this deſtruction of ſocial equilibrium, which does not tend to reduce all conditions and fortunes to the ſame ſtandard, but to the more extenſive diviſion of riches, the feudal government was formed, the characteristic of which is anarchy. Each nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the moſt abſolute tyranny. This was the inevitable conſequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In thoſe ſtates where it was hereditary, the people had, at leaſt, a bulwark and a permanent refuge againſt oppreſſion. The regal authority could not extend itſelf, without alleviating, for ſome time, the fate of the vaffals, by diminiſhing the power of the nobles.

But, in Germany, where the nobles take advantage
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of each interregnum to invade or restrain the rights of the imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Strength decided every thing between those who wore the sword. Lands and men were only the instruments, or the subjects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the support of injustice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations, not only became customary, but even lawful. Superstition, which had consecrated tyranny, was obliged to put a stop to it. The church, which furnished an asylum to all the plunderers, settled a truce between them. Recourse was had to the protection of the saints, to avoid the fury of the nobles. The ashes of the dead were alone sufficient to stop the ferociousness of these people; so frightful is death, even to men of cruel and savage dispositions.

When the minds of men, still in a state of commotion, were disposed to become calm through fear, policy, which avails itself equally of reason and the passions, of ignorance and understanding, in ruling over mankind, attempted to make some amendment in the form of government. On the one hand, several inhabitants in the countries were enfranchised; and, on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. There were every where a number of men who enjoyed freedom. The emperors, who, to secure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to disclose some abilities and some virtues, prepared the way for the reformation of the legislation.

Maximilian took advantage of all the seeds of happiness that were sown in his age by time and by events. He demolished the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the Emperors made them subject to the laws. Under pretence of the public tranquillity, every prince may be brought to justice. It is true, that these laws established among lions, do not save the lambs: And the people are still at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But, as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without being amenable to a tribunal that is always open, and supported by all the forces of the empire, the people are less exposed to those sudden irruptions, and unforeseen

hostilities, which, threatening the property of the sovereigns, continually endangered the lives and safety of the subjects. War, which formerly constituted right, is now subject to conditions that moderate its fury. The cries of humanity are heard even in the midst of carnage. It is to Germany that Europe owes the improvement of legislation in all its stages; regularity of proceedings even in the revenge of nations, a certain equity even in the abuse of power, moderation in the midst of victory, a check to the ambition of all potentates, and, in short, fresh obstacles to war, and fresh encouragements to peace.

This happy constitution of the German Empire, has improved, with the progress of reason, since the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheless, the Germans themselves complain, that, although they form a national body, distinguished by the same name, speaking the same language, living under the same chief, enjoying the same privileges, and connected by the same interests; yet their empire does not enjoy that tranquillity, that power, and consideration that it ought to have.

The causes of this misfortune are obvious. The first, is the obscurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are innumerable, and there are but few Germans who are versed in the constitution of their country. All the members of the empire now send their representatives to the national assembly; whereas they formerly sat there themselves. The military spirit, which is become universal, has precluded all application to business, every generous sentiment of patriotism, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes who has not settled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authorise the most flagrant oppressions to support this ridiculous pomp. In short, nothing contributes more to the decay of the empire, than the inordinate aggrandizement of some of its members. The sovereigns, become too powerful, separate their private interests from the general good. This reciprocal disunion among the states, is the reason, that, in dangers which are common to all, each province is left to shift for itself. It is obliged to bend to the strongest, whoever he may be; and thus the
Germanic

Germanic constitution degenerates insensibly into slavery or tyranny.

Britain owes its national genius to its geographical position, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the sea, to commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of strong minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and proud in a civilized one, this spirit of liberty always reigned in the breasts of the British, even when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

This was the nation that first discovered the injustice and insignificance of ecclesiastical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuses of the feudal government. This was the nation that first revolted, and threw off this triple load of oppression. Until the reign of Henry VIII. they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but, at length, in chusing them, they paved the way for abolishing, punishing, or expelling them.

Nevertheless, the Kings of England thought themselves absolute, because all those of the rest of Europe were so. The title of monarch deceived James I. He annexed unlimited authority to it. He discovered this idea with so much frankness, such blind simplicity, that he did not even sufficiently distrust his own pretensions to induce him to support them previously by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in his flattering illusion, which he persevered in to the end. He died full of self-estimation, and despised by his people, who knew the weakness of that monarch, and valued their own strength.

The English, to put an end to the spirit of revenge and mistrust, which would have been perpetuated between the crown and the people, after the tragical end of Charles I. chose, from a foreign race, a prince who was at length obliged to accept of that social compact, of which all hereditary kings affect to be ignorant. William III. received the crown with conditions, and contented himself with an authority established upon the same basis as the rights of the people.

Under the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had

had been in perpetual contest, between the prerogatives of the Crown and the privileges of the people. Since a parliamentary or national title is become the sole right of Kings, whatever faction disturbs the people, the force of the constitution prevails always in their favour.

The government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is tyranny; democracy, which leads to anarchy; and aristocracy, which, fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually respect, moderate, assist, and restrain each other, tends of itself to the national good. This constitution, of which there is no instance among the ancients, and which ought to serve as a model to posterity, will support itself a long time, because it is not the result of manners, and of transient opinions, but of reasoning and experience.

Yet the people are, with reason, alarmed about the duration of so good a government. Encroachments of the crown are not apprehended. The share the King holds in the legislation, is too trifling to prevail over the two houses of parliament. His right of refusal or consent is at present a mere matter of form. His greatest strength is in the executive power, which is solely vested in him. But, as he hath only the right and exercise of this power, without having the instruments and the means, he cannot avail himself of it. If he were once to abuse it, he would run the risque of losing it for ever. The money comes from the taxes, and the taxes are imposed by parliament. The people supply the prince with subsidies, and he gives them an account of them. Hence, the parliament, under whose inspection the revenues and the expences pass, is the real legislature. It is the parliament that levies the taxes, and determines how they should be employed. But, although the prince is in this respect dependent on the commons, yet he hath still a great ascendant over them, by the power of dispensing favours.

In monarchies, kings are bribed; in England, they bribe. A philosophical and political writer, well acquainted

quainted with the constitution of his country, asserts, that this bribery is necessary, to check the tendency of the government to democracy; and that the people would become too powerful, if the king did not buy off the commons.

On the other hand, if the prince were to raise the richer members of the commons to the highest dignities, by creating peers at pleasure, he would make the government lean to aristocracy. But, as the dignity of peerage cannot be lavished without degrading it, and as, besides, riches will always circulate most among the commercial part of the nation, it will scarce happen that riches and dignities will be accumulated and united in a few individuals; murmurs, troubles, and even seditions, will arise for the security of the people, before such a misfortune can take place. The interest of the collective body in the house of commons, is restrained by the interest of each individual. The king is not rich enough to bribe them all; he cannot openly buy them off, without dishonouring them; nor enslave them, without irritating the people. There will always be some demagogues; and the nation stands in need of them to watch, to accuse, and even to keep the parliament in awe.

But, if the enjoyments of luxury should happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleasure should soften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary successes; if vain ideas of false greatness, should excite the nation to enterprizes above their strength; if they should be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they should lose their colonies, either by making them too extensive, or by laying too many restraints upon them; if their love of patriotism were not exalted to the love of humanity; they would sooner or later be enslaved, and return to that state of insignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticism and war. They would become like other nations whom they despise; and Europe could not shew the universe one nation in which she could venture to pride herself. Despotism, which always oppresses most heavily minds that are subdued and degraded,

ed, would alone raise its head, amidst the ruin of the arts, of morals, of reason, and of liberty.

The history of the United Provinces is replete with great singularities. Their combination was formed by despair, and almost all Europe encouraged their establishment. They had but just triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to subjection, when they were obliged to try their strength against the Bretons, and disconcerted the schemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces she possessed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Austria. Since that period, Holland has been disgusted at military politics, and solely employed in her preservation; which, however, she attends to, perhaps, with too little earnestness, precaution, and virtue.

The constitution of Holland, though traced out before-hand upon a studied plan, is not less defective than those that have been formed by chance. The seven provinces compose a kind of heptarchy, the members of which are too independent of each other. In the republic, each province is supreme; in the provinces, the cities are not subject. Alliances, peace, war, subsidies; nothing is done but by the States General; and these again can do nothing without the consent of the Provincial States, nor these without the determination of the cities. A sovereignty too much dispersed, is the first fault of the constitution; unanimity of suffrages, a second; an equal number of votes, the third. Without any regard to the difference of population and size, the province of Holland has not more votes than that of Over Yssel, though it bears twenty times a greater share in the public expences. The suffrage of Amsterdam carries no more weight with it, than that of the most petty town, which is a perpetual source of discord. If the obstinacy of one single province breaks the union, there is no legal mediator to restore it: For the Stadtholder is not one.

This magistrate, whose business it is to terminate religious disputes, has, on that account, a dangerous influence; because he may involve all affairs of religion with those of the state, and all affairs of the state with those

those of religion. Authorised as he is to determine upon the articles of the treaty of union, whenever there is a schism or division, the power he has of putting an end to discord, makes it easy for him to foment it. What a vast field lies open to his ambition !

These fears occasioned the suppression of the Stadtholder's power, towards the middle of the last century. But those who overthrew this phantom of tyranny, were insensibly proceeding to the establishment of real tyranny, by changing the democracy into an oligarchy. From that time, the burghers of each town lost the privileges of liberty, with the right of electing their magistrates and forming their senate. The burgomasters chose their officers, and seized upon the finances, of which they gave no account but to their equals or their dependents. The senators arrogated to themselves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magistracy was confined within a few families, who assumed an almost exclusive right of deputation to the States-General. Each province and each town were at the disposal of a small number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the spoils of the people, had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the rage of their discontent.

These encroachments occasioned the restoration of the Stadtholder's power in the house of Orange ; and it has been made hereditary, even to the women : But a Stadtholder is nothing more than a captain-general. This magistrate, however, in order to be useful to the republic, ought to belong totally to the state. If he had as much influence in the general assembly, as he has in the military council, he would have no other interests than those of his country, and war and peace would be equally indifferent to him.

But, perhaps, it may be apprehended, that, if the civil power should be united to the military force in the Stadtholder, this dignity might one day become an instrument of oppression. Rome is always quoted as an example to all our free states, that have no circumstance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppressor of that republic, it was for these reasons, that the republic had oppressed all other nations ; that its
power

power was to be destroyed by the sword that had founded it; and that a nation, composed of soldiers, could not escape the despotism of a military government. It is scarce credible, but no less certain, that the Roman republic submitted to the yoke, because it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treasury. The public revenues, therefore, necessarily remaining the same after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he should be still free enough, while he remained the master of his fortunes.

Holland, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, because it is subject to very considerable taxes. The Dutch cannot preserve their country but with great expences. The sense of their independence alone excites an industry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to their patience in supporting the burden of them. If to the enormous expences of the state, it were necessary to add those which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the tools of tyranny, what ought to be bestowed on the foundations of a land built upon the sea, he would soon drive the people to despair.

An inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and observing from afar the sea rising eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, who sees it advance with a roar against the dykes he has raised, considers, and thinks within himself, that sooner or later that boisterous element will get the better of him. He disdains so precarious a dwelling; and his house, made either of wood or stone at Amsterdam, is no longer considered as his house; it is his ship that is his asylum, and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanoes is to other people.

If to these natural causes of the decay of patriotic spirit, were joined the loss of liberty, the Dutch would immediately quit a country that cannot be cultivated but by men that are free; and this trading people would carry their spirit of commerce, together with their riches, to some other part of the globe. Their islands in Asia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America,

merica, and all the parts of Europe, would afford them an asylum. What Stadtholder, what Prince, revered by such a people, would wish, or dare, to become their tyrant?

The French, with a different situation, have a different kind of government, which hath gone through an infinite number of vicissitudes. Ever attached to a king, because they were founded by a military commander, a warlike disposition preserved them for a long time from political slavery. That openness of courage; that abhorrence of all kind of meanness; that frankness which they held from the Germans, made them believe either that they were free, or that they ought to be so, even under the dominion of kings. Jealous of this idea they entertained of themselves, the nobility, which composed, in a manner, the whole nation, pretended to be independent, not only of the monarch, but even of their own body. Each nobleman formed, in the midst of the state, a kind of private republic of his own family and his vassals. France had then a military government, impossible to be defined; something between aristocracy and monarchy, having all the abuses of these two constitutions, without any of their advantages. A perpetual contest between the kings and the nobles, an alternate preponderation of the power of one single person, or of several; such was the kind of anarchy that lasted, almost without interruption, to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Then the character of the French was changed by a train of events that had changed the form of government. The war which the English, in alliance with, or subject to the Normans, had incessantly carried on with this kingdom for two or three hundred years past, spread the alarm throughout, and occasioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, every thing made the nation wish that the prince should be invested with power sufficient to drive away the strangers, and to keep the nobles in subjection. While a set of wise and warlike kings were labouring at this great work, a new generation arose. Every individual, when the danger was past, thought himself happy enough in the privileges that had been left to

him by his ancestors. They neglected to trace the origin of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. without much effort, became more powerful than any of his predecessors.

Before his time, the history of France presents a complication of states, sometimes divided, and sometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The authority of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free; but the police is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater security within, and war is carried on with more vigour without.

Civil wars, which lead a free people to slavery, and an enslaved people to freedom, have no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the nation has no influence in the administration, have all sold their fellow-citizens to their master; and as the people, who had nothing, could not lose any thing by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to effect it, especially as it was always concealed under a pretence of policy, and even of relief. The antipathy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, has favoured all the schemes that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home; to suffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different interests; to foment and keep up jealousies between the several ranks of the state; to flatter alternately each ambitious propensity with an appearance of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the people by the lowering of all ambition. The multitude, poor and despised, when they have seen all powerful bodies brought low one after another, have, at least, loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

Nevertheless, the nation, though by inadvertency it has lost the privilege of governing itself, has not yet submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This is, because the loss of its liberty has not yet been the effect

of

of a tumultuous and sudden revolution, but has been gradually brought about in a succession of several ages. The national character, which hath always exerted its influence on the minds of the princes, and of the court, though by the means of the women only, has formed a sort of balance of power; which, as it has moderated by manners the action of force and the re-action of free-will, has prevented those sudden and violent exertions, from whence either monarchial tyranny, or popular liberty results.

Inconstitence, which is as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people, as it is to children, has fortunately prevailed over the systems of some despotic ministers. Kings have been too fond of pleasure, and too conversant with the real source of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aside the iron sceptre which would have frightened the people, and dissipated the frivolous amusements to which they were addicted. The spirit of intrigue which hath ever prevailed among them, since the great people were called to court, has also continually overset the men in office, with their schemes. As the change in the government has been imperceptibly brought about, the subjects have preserved a kind of dignity, in which the monarch himself has seemed to respect the origin or the effect of his own. He has continued the supreme legislator for a long time, without being either willing or able to make a bad use of his whole power. Restrained by the name only of the fundamental laws of the nation, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been sensible, that the people had their rights to oppose to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty.

Such, and still more absolute, have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont; and of most of the small principalities of Italy. The people of the south, whether from inactivity of mind, or corporal weakness, seem to be born for despotism. The Spaniards, with a great share of pride; and the Italians, notwithstanding all the powers of genius, have lost all their privileges, and every vestige of liberty. Wherever a monarchy is unlimited, it is impossible to

ascertain exactly what the form of government is, since that varies not only with the character of each sovereign, but even at every period of the same prince's life. These states have all of them written laws; they have customs and societies that are privileged: But, when the legislator can overturn the laws and tribunals; when his authority has no other basis than force, and when he calls upon God to make himself be feared, rather than beloved by imitating him; when the original right of society; when the unalienable right of property among citizens; when national conventions, and the engagements of the prince are called upon in vain; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there is no longer any state; the nation is no more than the landed property of a single man.

In countries of this sort, no statesmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be informed of public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the administration. There, as in church preferments, a call is denominated grace, and is only obtained by prayers. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, supply the place of talents. Not but that talents are useful; they are sometimes wanted to serve, but never to command. Thus, in these countries, the people suffer themselves to be governed, provided they are but allowed to sleep. There is only one system of legislation in these delightful regions of Europe, which merits our attention; and that is the republic of Venice.

A great, magnificent, and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over seventy-two islands. They are not rocks and mountains raised by time in the midst of a vast sea; but rather a plain, parcelled out and cut into islands by the stagnations of a small gulph, upon the declivity of a low land. These islands, separated by canals, are at present joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the sea, and peopled by the ravages of war, towards the middle of the fifth century. The inhabitants of Italy, flying from Attila, sought an asylum in the element of storms.

The

The Venetian lagunes, at first, made neither a part of the same city, nor of the same republic. United by one commercial interest, or rather by the necessity of defending themselves, they were, however, divided into as many separate governments as islands, each subject to its respective tribune.

From the plurality of chiefs arose contentions, and the destruction of the public good. These people, therefore, in order to make but one body, chose a prince, who under the title of Duke or Doge, enjoyed for a long time all the rights of sovereignty, of which he only now retains the symbols. These doges were elected by the people till 1173, when the nobles, seizing upon the whole authority of the republic, named its chiefs.

The government of Venice would be the best of all governments, if an aristocracy were not, perhaps, the worst. The several branches of power are divided there among the nobles, and balanced with an admirable equilibrium. The great reign there undisturbed with a kind of equality, as the stars shine in the firmament during the silence of the night. The people enjoy this sight, and are contented with their subsistence and amusements. The distinction between plebeians and patricians, is less odious than in any other republics; because the laws are particularly directed to suppress and destroy the ambition of the nobles. Besides, as the prosperity of Venice was founded upon its commerce, the people might console themselves for the loss of power, by the hopes of riches, which they might acquire by industry and labour.

The emulation excited by opulence among this maritime people, enabled them to maintain powerful armies; and the spirit of patriotism, which is natural to republics, supplied them with soldiers. The variety of information resulting from the government of many, made them excel all other people in politics. They learned the art of forming and destroying leagues, and of maintaining their ground against the most formidable powers. But, since the decay of their commerce hath lessened their activity abroad, and their vigour at home, the republic of Venice has fallen into a state of pusillanimous

lanimous circumspection. They have assumed and improved upon that jealousy and mistrust which is the national character of all Italy. With one half of the treasures and care they have bestowed, since the neutrality they have observed for two centuries, they would have freed themselves from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them. Their chief confidence is in an inquisitor, who is continually prying among individuals, with the axe raised against any one who shall dare to speak good or evil of administration. The great crime is either the censure or approbation of government. The senator of Venice, concealed behind a grate, says to the subject, *Who art thou, that dar'st to approve our conduct!* A curtain rises, and the poor trembling Venetian beholds a carcass tied to a gallows, and hears a terrible voice that calls out to him from behind the grate, *It is thus we treat those who presume to apologize for us; go home, and be silent.* The republic of Venice still supports itself by its cunning. There is another in Europe which supports itself by its courage: This is the republic of Switzerland.

The Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were not to be subdued any more than the Gauls and the Britons, but by Cæsar, who was the greatest of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions, which are frequent and easily accomplished in such a country as the Alps, divided colonies, that were separated by large lakes or great mountains, into several baronies. The most considerable of these, occupied by the house of Austria, at length seized upon all the rest. Conquest brought on slavery; oppression occasioned revolt; and liberty sprang up from the excess of tyranny.

There are now thirteen cantons of robust peasants who defend almost all the kings of Europe, and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real interests than any other nation; and who constitute the most sensible people in all modern political states. These thirteen cantons compose among themselves, not a republic, as the

seven provinces of Holland; nor a simple confederacy, as the Germanic body; but rather a league, a natural association of so many independent republics. Each canton hath its respective sovereignty, its alliances, and its treaties separate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

The three most ancient are immediately connected with each of the other twelve. It is from this union of convenience, not of constitution, that, if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the rest would march to its assistance. But there is no common alliance between all and each of them. Thus the branches of a tree are united among themselves, without having an immediate connection with the common trunk.

The union of the Switzers was, however, indissoluble, till the beginning of the sixteenth century; when religion, which should be the bond of peace and charity, disunited them. The Reformation disjoined the Helvetic body; and the state was divided by the church. All public affairs are transacted in the separate and particular diets of the Catholic and Protestant parties. The general diets are assembled only to preserve the appearance of union. Notwithstanding this seed of discord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any state in Europe.

Under the Austrian government, oppression, and the levying of militia, impeded population. After the revolution, population increased too much in proportion to the barrenness of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without bursting, unless it made some excursions abroad. The inhabitants of these mountains, like the torrents that pour down from them, were to spread themselves in the plains that border upon the Alps. These people would have destroyed each other, had they remained sequestered among themselves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, the deficiency of money to attract the importation of provisions, excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life and of encouraging industry. They drew, even from their increase of numbers, a method of subsisting and acquiring riches, a source and an object of trade.

The

The Duke of Milan, master of a rich country, open on all sides to invasion, and not easily defended, was in want of soldiers. The Switzers, who were his most powerful neighbours, must necessarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was therefore set on foot between these people and the Milanese, in which strength was bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops successively in the service of France, of the Emperor, of the Pope, of the Duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They sold their blood to the most distant powers, and to the nations most in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to Portugal; as if these mountains were nothing more than a repository of arms and soldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchase the instruments of war.

Each canton treats with that power which offers the best terms. The subjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a distance, with any allied nation. The Hollander is, by the constitution of his country, a citizen of the world; the Switzer, by the same circumstance, a destroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the consumption of merchandise; the more battles and the more carnage there is, the greater is the prosperity of Switzerland.

It is by war, that calamity inseparable from mankind, whether in savage or civilized states, that the republics of the Helvetic body are forced to live and subsist. It is by this that they keep a number of inhabitants at home proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the springs of government, or restraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the belligerent powers, that Switzerland has been preserved from the necessity of sudden emigrations, which are the cause of invasions, and from that of attempting conquests, which would have occasioned the loss of the liberty of these republics, as it ruined all the republics of Greece.

If we now take a review of what has been said, we shall find, that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under some one or other of the forms we have been

been describing, and are differently modelled according to the local situation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and vicissitude of events, that act upon the organisation of the body politic, as the impression of surrounding fluids acts upon natural bodies.

We are not to imagine, as it is often asserted, that all governments are nearly alike, with no other difference than the character of the men who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be verified in absolute governments, among nations who are destitute of any principle of free-will. These take the turn which the prince gives them: They are haughty, proud, and courageous, under a monarch that is active and fond of glory: Indolent and melancholy, under a superstitious king: Full of hopes and fears, under a young prince; of weakness and corruption, under an old despot; or rather alternately confident and weak under the several ministers raised by intrigue. In such states, the government takes the character of the administration: But, in free states, it is just the reverse.

Whatever may be said of the nature and springs of the constitutions by which men are governed, the art of legislation being that which requires the highest perfection, is also the most proper to employ men of the first genius. The science of government does not contain abstracted truths, or rather it has not one single principle which does not extend to all the branches of administration.

The state is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or set a-going without a thorough knowledge of all the parts of which it is composed. One of them cannot be drawn too tight, or left too loose, but the whole machine must be in disorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens, in critical times, may become fatal to the rest of the nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we destroy or change the nature of any great body, those convulsive motions, which are called strokes of state, will disturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought

brought about insensibly : They should arise from necessity, be excited by a sort of public clamour, or at least agree with the general wishes. To abolish or to create on a sudden, is to increase evil, and to spoil the good. To act without consulting the will of the generality, without collecting, as it were, the plurality of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into discredit, even what is honest and good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that sovereigns, convinced of the necessity of improving the science of government, should imitate the establishment of China. In this empire, the ministers are distinguished into two classes, the *thinkers* and the *signers*. While the last are employed in executing and expediting the affairs, the first have no other business but to form projects, or to examine such as are presented to them. This is the source of all those admirable regulations, which establish at China the most enlightened legislation, by the wisest administration. All Asia is under despotic government; but, in Turkey and Persia, it is the despotism of opinion by religion; in China, it is the despotism of the laws by the influence of reason. Among the Mohammedans, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chinese, they believe in natural authority, founded upon the law of reason. But, in these empires, it is conviction that acts upon the will.

In the happy state of policy and civilization to which Europe has attained, it is plain, that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free, easy, and general obedience, can only proceed from a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments would not pay *thinkers*, who might, perhaps, become suspicious or corrupt as soon as they were mercenary; let them, at least, allow men of superior understandings to watch, in some measure, over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magistrate of his country; and it is his duty to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obscure or a distinguished citizen, whatever his rank or birth may be, his mind, which is always noble, takes its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his
judge

judge is the public; not the despot who does not hear him, nor the minister who will not listen to him.

All these truths have, doubtless, their boundaries: But it is always more dangerous to stifle freedom of thinking, than to leave it to its bent or impetuosity. Reason and truth triumph over the audacity of those violent minds, which are roused only by restraint, and irritated only by persecution. Kings and ministers! love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will have then no reason to fear either free or discontented minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous: For virtue, when soured and roused into indignation, becomes ungovernable. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous; they were reduced to the necessity of chusing, between two great acts of outrage, suicide, or the death of Cæsar.

The interest of government and those of the nation are the same. Whoever attempts to divide them, is but ill acquainted with them, and can only hurt them.

There may sometimes be discontented people under a good government; but where there are a great number of unhappy persons, without any advantage to the public prosperity, then the government is faulty in its nature.

Mankind are just as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propensity.

A state ought to have but one object in view; and that is, public felicity. Every state has its own mode of tending to this end; and this mode is its spirit, its principle, to which every thing else is subordinate.

A nation can have no industry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in, and an attachment to the government. But whenever fear has broken all the other springs of the soul, a nation then becomes of no consequence, the prince is exposed to a thousand attacks from without, and a thousand dangers from within. Despised by his neighbours, and detested by his subjects, he hath reason to be in perpetual dread for the fate of his kingdom, and for his own life. It is a happiness for a nation, that commerce, arts, and sciences, should flourish. It is even a happiness for those

those who hold the reins of government, when they are not inclined to tyrannize. Upright minds are very easily led; but none have a greater aversion for violence and slavery. Let good monarchs be blessed with civilized people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

Despotism is both raised and abolished by military power. In its infancy, it is a lion that conceals his talons, to let them grow. In its full vigour, it is a madman who tears his body with his arms. In its advanced age, it is Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is shamefully mutilated by his own race.

Government may be divided into legislation and policy. Legislation acts within, and policy without.

Policy. SAVAGE nations have rather a policy than a legislation. Governed among themselves by manners and example, they have no conventions or laws but those between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance are their only codes.

Such were most of the societies of ancient times. Separated by deserts, without any communication by trade or travelling, those people had only a present and immediate interest to settle. All their negotiations consisted in putting an end to a war, by fixing the boundaries of a state. As the business was to persuade a nation, and not to bribe a court by the mistresses or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed in it, and the names of orator and ambassador were synonymous.

In the middle ages, when every thing, even justice itself, was decided by force; when the Gothic government, divided by interests all those petty states which owed their existence to its constitution; negotiations had but little influence over a recluse and unsocial people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces, or ransoms.

During this long period of ignorance and barbarism, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It originated from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion

gion and the rules of the hierarchy, ruled over a very numerous clergy, which proselytes extended perpetually in all the Christian states, the correspondence they kept up with the Bishops established early at Rome a center of communication for all these churches, or nations. All rights were subordinate to a religion, which reigned exclusively over every mind; it had a share in almost every transaction, either as the motive or the means; and the Popes, by the Italian emissaries they had placed in the prelacies of Christendom, never failed of getting information of all the motions, and taking advantage of all events. In this they had the highest interest, no less than that of attaining universal monarchy. The barbarism of the times in which this project was conceived, did not diminish its greatness and sublimity. How daring was the attempt, to subdue, without troops, nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weaknesses of the clergy respectable and sacred! What address to agitate and shake thrones, one after another, in order to keep them all in subjection! So deep, so vast a design, could not be put in execution, but in a concealed manner; and, therefore, it was inconsistent with an hereditary monarchy, in which the passions of kings, and the intrigues of ministers, are the cause of so much instability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always chosen from a body animated with the same spirit, and influenced by the same maxims; in which an aristocratic court rather governs the prince, than suffers itself to be governed by him.

While Italian policy was narrowly watching all the states of Europe, and seizing all occasions to aggrandize and confirm ecclesiastical power, each sovereign saw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without their territories. Most of them were too much engaged in establishing their authority in their own dominions, in disputing the branches of power with the several bodies that were in possession of them, or who were striving against the natural bent that monarchy has to despotism: They were not sufficiently masters of

their own inheritance, to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours.

The fifteenth century set a new face upon the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they wished to try their strength with one another. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their respective frontiers. The season of the campaign was wasted in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then only skirmishes between parties, no regular battles between armies. When a prince, either by alliances or inheritance, had acquired domains in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops, in the pay of the monarch, to defend, at a distance, possessions that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the heart of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternative of war and negotiation.

The ambition, the talents, and the rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I. gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before the times of these two monarchs, the nations of France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissensions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy; and the republic of Venice was the soul of that intestine re-action against two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in these commotions, either as auxiliaries, or as being interested in them. The Emperor and the Pope engaged in them, with almost all Christendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. engaged in their fate the views, the anxiety, the destiny of all Europe. All the powers seemed to divide themselves between two rival houses, in order to weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune favoured the talents, the force, and the artifice of Charles V. More ambitious and less voluptuous than Francis I. his character turned the scale, and Europe inclined to his side, but did not take the bend for ever.

Philip

Philip II. who had all the spirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his ambitious views and projects, and found the times favourable for his aggrandizement. He drained his kingdom of men and ships, and even of money, though he was in possession of the mines of the new world; and left behind him a more extensive monarchy, but the kingdom of Spain much weaker, than it had been under his father.

His son imagined he should fasten the chains of Europe anew by an alliance with that branch of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip II. had detached himself from it by negligence; Philip III. resumed this political tract. But, in other respects, he followed the erroneous, narrow, superstitious, and pedantic principles of his predecessor. Within, there was much formality, but no order, and no œconomy. The church was perpetually devouring the state. The inquisition, that deformed monster, who hides his head in the heavens, and his feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. Without, there were still the same ambitious views, with worse conducted measures. Rash and precipitate in his enterprises, slow and stubborn in the execution of them, Philip III. had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and make every project prove abortive and miscarry. He exhausted the little life and vigour the monarchy had left. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king over whom he ruled, to fill that period with his intrigues, and perpetuate his name. Germany and Spain were in a manner connected by the house of Austria. To this league, he opposed, by way of counterpoise, that of France with Sweden. This system would have been the work of his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus, by his conquests, enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the advantage of the scale in favour of Spain and France.

Charles V. had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by aggrandizing their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of an ordinary cast, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of a superior understanding, who have neither virtue nor morals. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of determination, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which makes conquerors of heroes: They had nothing of Alexander about them. Nevertheless, useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon thought of, nor too soon spread, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

When Lewis XIV. began to look about him, perhaps, he might be surprised to see himself more powerful than he imagined. His greatness was partly owing to the discord that subsisted between the forces and the measures of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a common tie, but had not discovered how to form it. In treating with this monarch, proud of success, and vain from the applause he had received, it was thought a great deal was gained, if all was not lost. In short, the insulting behaviour of France, which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; her haughty and authoritative tone, confirmed the change of envy into hatred, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or rather favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and understood that they must unite and raise among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France, in order to prevent her from tyrannizing over the nations. Leagues were, therefore, formed; but for a long time without effect. One single man appeared to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous

virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who was seized for all Europe with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. This man turned his ambition towards the object the most elevated, and the most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from the interest of the public. With a courage which was entirely his own, he knew how to brave those very defeats he foresaw; expecting less success from his military talents, than a happy issue from his patience and his political activity. Such was the situation of affairs, when the succession to the throne of Spain set all Europe in flames.

Since the empires of the Persians and Romans, ambition had never been tempted by so rich a spoil. The prince, who might have joined it to his own crown, would naturally have risen to that universal monarchy, the phantom of which terrified the minds of all men. The business, therefore, was to prevent this throne from falling into the hands of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, who had the only hereditary right to the throne.

Men well versed in the knowledge of the customs and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that, had it not been for the hostilities, which were then raised by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip V. as good a Spaniard as the Philips his predecessors, and that the French cabinet would then have had no influence upon the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards to give them a master, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a crown that was alone capable of assisting them in chusing a king that would suit them. This wise and just idea has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The temper of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants, seems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

The events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance gained an equal ascendancy over the common enemy.

Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns, which had tried, but not discouraged the Prince of Orange, the operations of the confederates were always successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on all sides, was upon the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the death of the Emperor.

It was then perceived, that, if the Archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the house of Austria, should join Spain and the Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the war had wrested from the house of Bourbon. But the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip V. without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which was always productive of evil, when it could no longer do any good.

This difference of opinions raised dissensions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, which they might reasonably have expected from their success. The best barrier that could be formed to cover the provinces of the allies, was to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them; and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them; for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine, were left standing.

Since this period, no opportunity hath offered to repair the imprudence committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its superiority on the continent: But chance hath often diminished its influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly in equilibrium, nor just enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this system of equality may be nothing more than a chimera. The balance can only be fixed by treaties; and treaties can have no solidity, when they are only

made

made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts ought to bind the people themselves; because the object of them is their peace and safety, which are their greatest good: But a despot always sacrifices his subjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

But it is not war alone that determines the superiority of nations, as has been hitherto always believed: Since the last half century, commerce has had a much greater share in it. While the powers of the continent measured and parcelled out Europe into unequal portions, which policy, by leagues, treaties, and alliances, always kept in equilibrium, a maritime people formed as it were a new system, and, by its industry, made the land subject to the sea; as nature herself has done by her laws. It formed, or unfolded that extensive commerce, which has for its basis an excellent agriculture, flourishing manufactures, and the richest possessions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of universal monarchy that Europe ought to wrest from Britain, by restoring to each maritime state that freedom, and that power it has a right to have upon the element that surrounds it. This is a system of public good founded upon natural equity; and, in this case, justice is the voice of general interest. The people cannot be too much warned to resume all their powers, and to employ the resources offered them by the climate and the soil they inhabit, to acquire that national and distinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were sufficiently enlightened, and if each nation were acquainted with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be established between the continental and maritime people, a balance of industry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourse for the general benefit. Each nation would sow and reap upon its proper element. The several states would enjoy the same liberty of exportation and importation that should subsist between the provinces of the same empire.

A great error prevails in modern politics, which is that of weakening one's enemies as much as possible.
But

But no nation can labour at the ruin of others, without paving the way for, and hastening its own slavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people, a great increase of power; but such sudden elevations are seldom lasting. It is oftentimes better to support rivals, than to bear them down. Sparta refused to enslave Athens; and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage.

This elevation of ideas, which belongs still more to nations than to kings, would prevent politicians from the necessity of committing many crimes and asserting many falsehoods; and would remove many impediments and difficulties out of the way of negociators. At present, the complication of affairs hath rendered negociations very difficult. Policy, like that insidious insect that weaves its web in darkness, hath stretched it forth in the midst of Europe, and fastened it, as it were, to every court. One single thread cannot be touched without drawing all the rest. The lowest sovereign hath some hidden concern in the treaties between the great powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being seconded or opposed by the courts of Vienna, Versailles, or London. Negotiations must be carried on in all the cabinets for years together, for every the most trifling change in the disposition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. A war is determined upon in a couple of days; a peace is dragged on for years. This slowness in negociations, which proceeds from the nature of things, is partly owing also to the character of the negociators.

Most of these are ignorant men, who treat with some enlightened persons. There are, perhaps, two or three wise and judicious cabinets in Europe. The rest are filled with intriguing men, who are raised to the management of affairs by the passions and shameful pleasures of a master and his mistresses. A man is advanced to a share in the administration, without knowing any thing of the matter; he adopts the first system that is offered to his caprice; follows it without understanding it; and the more ignorant he is, so much the more obstinate is he in the pursuit of it. He overturns all that

has

has been done by his predecessors, in order to lay the foundations of his own system, which he will never be able to raise. The first declaration of Richelieu, when he became minister, was, *The council hath altered its plan.* This saying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of a single man, has, perhaps, been either repeated, or thought of, by every one of Richelieu's successors. All public men have the vanity, not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the height of their office, but even to swell the opinion they have of their understanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority.

When a nation is great and powerful, what should its governors be? The court and the people will answer this question, but in a very different manner. The ministers see nothing in their office but the enlargement of their rights; the people see nothing but the enlargement of their duties. The ideas of the people are just; for the duties and rights of each government ought to be regulated by the wants and desires of each nation. But this principle of natural right is not applicable to the social state. As societies, whatever be their origin, are almost all of them subject to the authority of one single man, political measures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king is a weak and unsteady man, his government will change with his ministers, and his politics will vary with his government. He will have alternately ministers, ignorant or enlightened, steady or fickle, deceitful or sincere, harsh or humane, inclined to war or peace; such, in a word, as the vicissitude of intrigues shall give him. Such a government will neither have system nor order in its politics; and all other governments will not be able to keep up fixed views and permanent measures with it. The system of politics must then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince. Under a feeble and fickle reign, interests are merely momentary, and all connections subordinate to the will of the ministry.

But the fate of nations and political interests are very different in republican governments. As the authority there resides in the collective body of the people, there

there are certain principles, and some public interests, that prevail in the negotiations. In this case, the permanency of a system is not to be confined to a duration of a ministry, or to the life of a single man. The general spirit that exists and perpetuates itself in the nation, is the only rule of the negotiations. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may sometimes lead a popular government into a political mistake; but this is easily recovered. Faults, in these instances, are lessons, as well as successes are. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the history of republics. It is in vain to attempt to over-reach a free people in a treaty of peace or alliance by artifice or intrigues. Their maxims will always bring them back to their lasting interests; and all engagements will give way to the supreme law. In these governments, it is the safety of the people that does every thing; while, in others, it is the will of the master.

This contrast of political maxims has rendered popular constitutions suspicious or odious to all absolute monarchs. They have been afraid lest the republican spirit should reach to their own subjects, the weight of whose chains they are every day increasing. One may, therefore, perceive a kind of secret conspiracy between all monarchies, to destroy, or insensibly to undermine the foundations of free states. But liberty will arise from the midst of oppression. It is already in every heart, and it will be conveyed by public writings into the minds of all enlightened men, and by tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will at last feel, and this period is at no great distance, that liberty is the first gift of heaven, as it is the first source of virtue. The instruments of despotism will become its destroyers; and the enemies of humanity, those who seem armed at present merely to fight against it, will exert themselves in its defence.

War. WAR, as well as society, has existed at all times and in all countries; but the military art is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks instituted it, and

and conquered all the forces of Asia. The Romans improved it, and conquered the world. These two nations, worthy to command all others, since they raised themselves entirely by genius and by virtue, owed their superiority to the infantry, in which every single man exerts his whole strength. The phalanxes and the legions carried victory wherever they went.

When indolence, rather than activity, had introduced cavalry into their armies, Rome lost some of its glory and success. Notwithstanding the exact discipline of its troops, it could no longer make a resistance to barbarous nations that fought on foot.

Yet these half-savage men, who with arms alone, and the mere powers of nature, had subdued the most extensive and most civilized empire of the universe, soon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility, who were in possession of the lands and the privileges, those appurtenances of victory, chose to ride on horseback; while the enslaved people were left on foot, almost without arms, and without estimation.

In times when the gentleman was distinguished by his horse; when the man was nothing, but the rider was all; when wars were nothing but irruptions, and campaigns but a day; when success depended upon the quickness of marches; then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were scarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and strength of men were no longer shewn in wrestling, at the cestus, in the exercise of the arms, and of all the muscles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horse, and in throwing the lance in full speed. This species of war, more suitable to wandering Tartars, than to fixed and sedentary societies, was one of the errors of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whose rights were only in their swords, whose merit and glory was in their arms, who had no other occupation than hunting, could hardly avoid riding on horseback, with all that train of pride, and spirit of authority, which must necessarily result from a rude and uncultivated understanding. But what could troops of heavy armed cavalry

valry avail in the attack and defence of castles and towns, fortified by walls or by surrounding waters?

It is this imperfection in the military art which occasioned a war to last uninterruptedly for ages between France and England. War was carried on perpetually for want of a sufficient number of combatants. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to lead into the field, bodies of troops that were only to stay there for a few weeks. Kings could not assemble more than a certain number of vassals, and those at stated times. The Lords had only a right to call under their banners some of their tenants, at stipulated terms. Forms and rules then wasted all the time in war, as they now absorb all fortunes in the courts of justice. At length the French, tired with being constantly obliged to repulse the English, like the horse that implored the assistance of man against the stag, suffered a yoke and burthen to be imposed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raised, in their own pay, troops that were to subsist always. Charles VII. after having expelled the English with mercenaries, when he disbanded his army, kept nine thousand horse, and sixteen thousand infantry.

This was the origin of the abasement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil slavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only that they might fall some time or other under the despotism of kings. So much does human nature seem born for slavery! It became necessary to raise a fund for the payment of a militia; and the taxes were as arbitrary and unlimited as the number of the soldiers. These were distributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers against the enemy; but, in fact, to restrain and oppress the subjects. The officers, generals, and governors, were tools of government always armed against the nation itself. They and their soldiers no longer looked upon themselves as citizens of the state, solely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They no longer acknowledged any person in the kingdom, except the king, in whose name they were ready to massacre their fathers and

and brothers. In short, the militia of the nation was nothing more than a royal militia.

The invention of gunpowder, which required large expences, and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arsenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and completed the advantage that infantry has over cavalry. The latter presented the flank of the man and horse to the former. A horseman dismounted was either lost or good for nothing; and a horse without a leader carried confusion and terror among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in squadrons was more difficult to repair than it was in the battalion. In a word, men could be bought and disciplined at a less expence than horses: And this made it easy for kings to have foldiers.

Thus the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his subjects, at least in futurity, became, from his example, prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itself upon the defence against a nation always in arms. The right system of politics, if there were any politics at a time when the arts, literature, and commerce, had not yet opened a communication among people, would have been, that the princes should altogether have fallen upon that one who had put himself into a state of continual war. But, instead of compelling him to lay down his arms, they took up arms themselves. This contagion spread itself the quicker, as it appeared the only remedy against the danger of an invasion, and the only guarantee of the security of nations.

There was, however, in all parts, a want of the knowledge requisite to discipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers used against the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With weighty swords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horses and men of the feudal militia. Their ranks being impenetrable, and marching on in close columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that opposed them. Every power was then desirous of having some of these soldiers. But the Switzers, sensible of their importance, and estimating it at too great

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and brothers. In short, the militia of the nation was nothing more than a royal militia.

The invention of gunpowder, which required large expences, and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arsenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and completed the advantage that infantry has over cavalry. The latter presented the flank of the man and horse to the former. A horseman dismounted was either lost or good for nothing; and a horse without a leader carried confusion and terror among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in squadrons was more difficult to repair than it was in the battalion. In a word, men could be bought and disciplined at a less expence than horses: And this made it easy for kings to have soldiers.

Thus the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his subjects, at least in futurity, became, from his example, prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itself upon the defence against a nation always in arms. The right system of politics, if there were any politics at a time when the arts, literature, and commerce, had not yet opened a communication among people, would have been, that the princes should altogether have fallen upon that one who had put himself into a state of continual war. But, instead of compelling him to lay down his arms, they took up arms themselves. This contagion spread itself the quicker, as it appeared the only remedy against the danger of an invasion, and the only guarantee of the security of nations.

There was, however, in all parts, a want of the knowledge requisite to discipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers used against the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With weighty swords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horses and men of the feudal militia. Their ranks being impenetrable, and marching on in close columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that opposed them. Every power was then desirous of having some of these soldiers. But the Switzers, sensible of their importance, and estimating it at too great

a price, it became necessary to resolve to do without them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order that they might not have any dependence upon these auxiliary troops.

The Germans were the first to adopt a discipline which required only strength of body, and subordination. Proceeding from a country abounding in men and horses, they almost rivalled the reputation of the Swiss infantry, without losing the advantage of their own cavalry.

The French, more lively, adopted with greater difficulty, and more slowly, a species of militia that laid a restraint upon all their motions, and seemed rather to require perseverance than impetuosity. But the taste for imitation and novelty prevailed among this volatile people, over that vanity which is fond of its own customs.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the pride with which they have been reproached, improved upon the Swissers, by bringing the discipline of that warlike people to greater perfection. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

In proportion as the infantry increased, the custom and service of the feudal militia ceased in all parts, and war was more and more extended. National constitution had for ages past scarcely allowed the several people to wage war beyond the barriers of their own states. It was carried on upon the frontiers only between neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had tried their arms in the most remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer possible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations; because it was not in fact the people who made war against each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themselves or their families, without any regard to the welfare of their subjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to interest the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely with a view to weaken or totally to subdue that spirit of independence which was still struggling, among some sets of men, against that absolute authority which the princes had gradually assumed.

All Europe was in commotion. The Germans in Italy;

taly; the Italians in Germany; the French in both these countries. The Turks were set down before Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were all at once in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the Low Countries. All these nations irritated, and practised in war, became adepts in the art of fighting and destroying each other with great regularity and precision.

It was religion that caused the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but it more particularly excited Flanders against Spain. On the fens of Holland fell all the rage of a bigotted and despotic king, of a superstitious and sanguinary prince, and of two Philips, and a duke of Alba. It was in the Low Countries that a republic arose from the gibbets of tyranny, and the flames of the inquisition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an asylum in the ocean, she raised her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch were the first who practised the art of fortifying places; so much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was universally followed. Extensive states had only occasion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were thick set with strong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through these countries, we meet every evening with gates shut, and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns.

While the Dutch were improving the art of fortifying, attacking, and defending towns, the Swedes were employed in forming, as it were, the military science of the field. Gustavus Adolphus was eminently skilled in the art of war, which other nations have occasionally acquired, but which the Germans have always preserved, as peculiarly attached to their climate. Soldiers are to be met with in other parts; but it is Germany alone that furnishes generals.

This art had been constantly practised for a century past, when it was remarkably improved by Lewis XIV. He first introduced the custom of wearing an uniform; of carrying the bayonet at the end of the firelock; of making use of the artillery to advantage; in a word, of

increasing to the utmost the destructive powers of fire and sword.

The king of Prussia alone hath invented a new method of disciplining armies, of heading battles, and of gaining victories. This prince, who would have been better served by another nation, and, no doubt, more extolled than he could possibly be by his own; who hath not had, since Alexander, his equal in history for extent and variety of talents; who, without having been himself formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; he, in a word, who hath deserved, beyond all others, that his name should be recorded in his age, as a distinction vying in greatness with those of the most illustrious ages of the world: This same king of Prussia hath totally changed the principles of war, by giving in some measure to the legs an advantage over the arms; that is to say, that, by the rapidity of his evolutions, and the quickness of his marches, he hath always excelled his enemies, even when he has not conquered them. All the nations of Europe have been obliged to imitate his example, in order that they might not be obliged to submit to him. He will enjoy the glory, since it is one, of having raised the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which fortunately it cannot but degenerate.

It is not to him, but to Lewis XIV. that we must ascribe that prodigious multiplicity of troops, which presents us with the spectacle of war even in the midst of peace. In imitation of that monarch, who had always a numerous army of infantry, all the princes of Europe, whether ruling over large or small states, have kept bodies of troops; oftentimes more burdensome to the subject from the expences of their pay, than useful for the defence of the state. Some of the most politic among them have engaged these troops in the pay of greater powers; and thus, by a double advantage, they have contrived to raise large sums of money for lives which were always sold, but never exposed.

What right then have we to exclaim against those ages of barbarous manners under the feudal government? War was then no more than a state of commotion, a tempestuous period; but, at present, it is almost a natural state. Most governments now either are, or will become

become military. The very improvement of discipline is a proof of it. Security in our fields, tranquillity in the cities, whether troops are passing through or are quartered in them, the police which prevails about camps and in garrisoned towns, do, indeed, shew us that arms have some restraint; but at the same time indicate, that every thing is subject to their power.

Though the licentiousness and rapacity of the soldier be restrained, the people are obliged to pay dear for this security, by the levying of taxes, and the expence of militia. It is not merely by battles that war is fatal. A million of men lost or destroyed are nothing out of a hundred million, which Europe may, possibly, contain. But this million are the flower of the population, the choicest of the youth, the source of reproduction, the life of industry and labour. And, in order to support and recruit this million of troops, all the several orders of society must be burdened, which, encroaching one upon the other, must necessarily oppress the lowest and most useful of them, that of the husbandmen. The increase of taxes, and the difficulty of collecting them, destroy, from want or hunger, those very families who are the parents and nurseries of manufactures and of armies.

Another inconvenience arising from the increase of troops, is a diminution of courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedemon and Rome, where the women, who were free citizens, brought forth soldiers; where children were lulled to sleep, and awakened with the noise of trumpets and warlike songs; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different species; all other nations have only had a few brave men amongst them. And, indeed, the lesser the number of troops raised, the more brave will they be. Formerly, among our ancestors, less civilized but stronger than we are, the armies were much less numerous than ours, but the engagements were more decisive. It was necessary to be a noble or a rich man to serve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers bore the standard. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who disliked the service, was at li-

berty to withdraw himself. Besides, there was then more of that heat of the blood, of that freedom of sentiment, which constitutes true courage. At present, what glory is there in serving under absolute commanders, who judge of men by their size, estimate them by their pay, enlist them by force or by stratagem, and keep or discharge them at pleasure, without their consent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aspiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without assigning any reason; where men without merit are raised, and others, undeservedly and without offence, are degraded by mere caprice? Therefore, except in rising empires, or in critical times, the greater number of soldiers there are in the state, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a state is enfeebled, the number of its soldiers is increased.

A third inconvenience is, that the increase of the militia tends to despotism. A number of troops, fortified towns, magazines and arsenals, may prevent irruptions; but, in preserving a people from the invasions of a conqueror, they do not secure them from the encroachments of a despotic prince. So many soldiers do but keep those that are already slaves in chains. The strongest then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is subservient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he sets the opinions of men at defiance, and enforces obedience. With soldiers he levies taxes; and by taxes he raises soldiers. He imagines that he exerts and shews his authority, by destroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitless. He is perpetually renewing his militia, without ever being able to recover the national strength. In vain do his soldiers keep his people in continual awe; if his subjects tremble at his troops, his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But, in these circumstances, the loss of battle is the loss of a kingdom. The hearts of all being alienated, are impatient of submitting to a foreign yoke; because, under the dominion of a conqueror, there are still hopes; under that of a despot, there is every thing to fear. When the progress of the military government hath induced despotism, then the nation

nation is lost. The soldiery soon becomes insolent and detested. Families become extinct by barrenness, occasioned from wretchedness and debauchery. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails amongst all orders of men, who are alternately corrupted and disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up, one after another, to the scourges of the despot, who oppresses, destroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which induces a military government. Let us now consider the influence of the navy.

THE ancients have transmitted to us almost all those arts that have been revived *Navy*. with the restoration of letters; but we have gone beyond them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which, nothing was necessary, but rafts, galleys, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be obstinate; but it required no great skill to construct and equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, it was only necessary to have what may be called flat-bottomed boats, which landed Carthaginians or Romans, who were almost the only people who stained the sea with their blood. The Athenians and the republics of Asia, were fortunately more employed in commerce than in fighting.

After these famous nations had abandoned both the land and the sea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained, during twelve centuries, in that state of annihilation into which all the other arts were fallen. Those swarms of Barbarians, who over-ran and totally destroyed Rome, came from the Baltic, upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our sea-coasts, without quitting, however, the continent. These were not voyages, but descents upon the coast that were every day renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruise, and scarce knew how to fight but upon the land.

At length, chance, or the Chinese, supplied the Europeans with the compass, and the compass gained them America. The magnetic needle, which taught sailors to

to know how far they were distant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to lose sight of land for whole months together. Geometry and astronomy taught them how to compute the progress of the constellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the east and to the west. Even at that time, the height and the distance of vessels from the coast might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitudes be much less accurate than that of the latitudes, yet both the one and the other had soon sufficiently improved navigation, to give rise to the art of carrying on war by sea. The first essay, however, of this art was made between gallies that were in possession of the Mediterranean. The most celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which happened about two centuries ago, between two hundred and five Christian, and two hundred and sixty Turkish gallies. It was Italy alone, which hath invented every thing and preserved nothing; that had constructed this prodigious armament; but at that time, its trade, riches, and population, were double of what they are at present. Besides, those gallies were neither so long nor so large as those of our times, as we may judge from some of the old carcases that are still preserved in the arsenal of Venice. The crew consisted of one hundred and fifty rowers, and the troops did not exceed fourscore in one galley. At this day, Venice has more beautiful gallies, and less influence upon that sea which the Doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

Gallies, indeed, were proper enough for criminals; but stronger vessels were required for soldiers. The art of constructing ships improved with that of navigation. Philip II. king of all Spain, and of the two Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, Naples and Sicily, which he was then in possession of, in constructing ships of an extraordinary size and strength; and his fleet assumed the title of the *Invincible Armada*. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, near one hundred of which were the largest that had yet been seen on the ocean. Twenty caravels, or small ships, followed

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ed this fleet, and rowed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon, and exaggerated the pompous description of this formidable armament. But what spread terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now serve only to excite laughter. The largest of those ships would be no more than a third-rate vessel, in our squadrons. They were so heavily armed, and so ill conducted, that they could neither move, nor sail near the wind, nor board another vessel, nor could the ship be properly worked in tempestuous weather. The sailors were as awkward as the ships were heavy, and the pilots almost as ignorant as the sailors.

The English, who were already acquainted with the weakness and little skill of their enemies at sea, concluded that their inexperience would occasion their defeat. Satisfied with avoiding to board these weighty machines, they burned a part of them. Some of these enormous galleons were taken, others disabled. A storm came on; most of the ships having lost their anchors, were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and cast away, some upon the western coasts of Scotland, others upon the coast of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where its ruinous condition, joined to the terror of the sailors, spread a consternation throughout the land, from which it has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depressed by the loss of an armament that had cost three years of preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom were almost exhausted.

The destruction of the Spanish navy occasioned the dominion of the sea to pass into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their ancient tyrants could not be more properly punished than by the prosperity of a people, forced by oppression to shake off the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to raise its head from amidst its fens, the rest of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the spirit of fanaticism. Persecution drove men into Holland from all other states. The inquisition which the house of Austria wished to introduce into all parts of its dominion; the persecution which

which Henry II. raised in France; the emissaries of Rome, who were supported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immense number of refugees. This country had neither lands nor crops sufficient for their subsistence, which they were forced to seek by sea throughout the whole universe. Almost all the commerce of Europe was ingrossed by Lisbon, Cadiz, and Antwerp, under one sovereign, whose power and ambition made him universally hated and envied. The new republicans having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who, in the advancement of the rising republic, foresaw nothing more than the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted her in preserving conquests and spoils, the value of which they were yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments wherever they chose; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

The domestic contentions in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been acquired with so little noise in remote countries. But at length Cromwell roused in his country the emulation of commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with them was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch were determined to keep it. Instead of seeking the alliance of England, they boldly resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortunes preserved to them, at least, an honourable rivalry. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquished never met with any decisive losses.

These long and dreadful combats, however, had exhausted, or, at least, diminished the strength of the two

two nations, when Lewis XIV. willing to avail himself of their mutual weakness, aspired to the empire of the sea. When this prince first assumed the reins of government, he found no more than eight or nine vessels in his harbours, and those half rotten; neither were they ships of the first or second rate. Richelieu had been sensible of the necessity of raising a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which must, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reserved to the finest age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who caught, at least, all the ideas of grandeur he did not himself create, established a council for the construction of ships in each of the five ports which he opened to the royal or military navy. He formed docks and arsenals; and, in less than twenty years, France had one hundred ships of the line.

They first tried their strength with the people of Barbary, who were beaten. They afterwards humbled the Spanish flag. Then, engaging with the fleets of England and Holland, sometimes separate, and sometimes combined, they generally gained the honour and advantage of the fight. The first memorable defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when, with forty ships, they attacked ninety English and Dutch ships opposite La Hogue, in order to give the English a king they would not have, and who was not himself very desirous of the title. The most numerous fleet obtained the victory. James II. felt an involuntary pleasure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this instant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval force of France has always been upon the decline, and has never yet been re-established.

From that period Britain assumed a superiority, which hath carried it to the highest pitch of prosperity. A people, who are at present the first upon the seas, easily persuade themselves that they have always held that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæsar; sometimes they will assert,

assert, that they have ruled over the ocean, at least, since the ninth century. Perhaps, at some future period, the Corsicans, who are nothing at present, when they are become a maritime people, will boast and record in their annals, that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of mankind; they must endeavour to aggrandize themselves in past as well as future times. Truth alone, that exists before all nations, and survives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the Christian æra till the 16th century. The English themselves had no need of it, while they remained in possession of Normandy and of the coasts of France.

When Henry VIII. wanted to equip a fleet, he was obliged to hire vessels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzick; but especially from Genoa and Venice, who alone knew how to construct and guide a fleet; who supplied all the sailors and Admirals; who gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, a Veresani, those wonderful men who have added so much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth wanted a naval force against Spain, and permitted her subjects to arm ships to act against the enemies of the state. This permission formed the military sailors. The Queen herself went to see a ship that had been round the world; where she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors. James I. and Charles I. added some ships to the naval forces they had received with the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who, satisfied with the honours, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation made no progress.

There were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were given to captains of ordinary extraction, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They brought to perfection, and made the British navy illustrious.

When Charles II. re-ascended the throne, his navy consisted of six and fifty ships. It increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Towards the latter days of this prince, however, it began to decline again.

But

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But his brother, James II. restored it to its former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself High Admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the Prince of Orange, his son-in-law, seized his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since increased so much, that the English think they are able alone to balance, by their maritime forces, the navy of the whole universe. This power is now at sea, what Rome formerly was upon land, when she began to fall from her greatness.

The English nation considers its navy as the bulwark of its safety, and the source of its riches. It is in peace, as in war, the center of all its hopes. It raises, therefore, a fleet more quickly, and more willingly, than a battalion. It spares no expence, no political measures, to acquire seamen.

First the allurements of reward are put in action. In 1744, there was an act passed in parliament, that all prizes taken by a man of war should belong to the officers and crew of the conquering ship. They likewise granted an additional gratification of five pounds sterling to every Englishman, who, in an engagement, should board, take, or sink an enemy's ship. To the allurements of profit, the government adds compulsive measures, if they become necessary. In times of war, they seize upon sailors belonging to merchant ships.

Nothing is apparently so contradictory to national freedom, as these exertions of authority upon men and commerce at the same time. Yet, as these acts of violence do not take place unless in consequence of the necessities of the state, they cannot be considered as encroachments upon liberty; because their object is the public safety; which is the particular interest of those who appear to be the victims of them; and because the

state of society requires, that the will of each individual should be subservient to the will of the whole community. Besides, the sailors receive the same pay from the government they would get from the trader, which totally justifies this compulsive measure; a measure which is always beneficial to the state. The sailor is no longer at the charge of the public, but while he continues in its service. The expeditions are by these means carried on with greater secrecy and dispatch; and the crews are never idle. In a word, if this were an inconvenience, it is surely not worse than that perpetual slavery, in which all other European sailors are held.

The navy is a new kind of power, which must totally change the face of the globe. It hath defeated the old system of equilibrium. Germany, which held the balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, hath ceded it to Britain; which island disposes at present of the continent. As, by means of its ships, it is in the vicinity of all maritime countries, its power of assisting or doing hurt is extended over a great number of states. It has, therefore, a greater number of allies, and a higher degree of consideration and influence. It is this island whose empire is established over America; because it hath men and arts in that country, instead of gold and the materials of luxury. Britain is of itself the lever of the globe. She occasions the greatest revolutions; and carries the destiny of nations upon her fleets. She is accused of aspiring to be sole mistress of navigation and trade. This empire which she might, perhaps, maintain for a short time, would occasion her ruin. The universal monarchy of the seas, is not a less presumptuous project than that of the land.

France is continually exclaiming, that there is a necessity of establishing an equilibrium of power upon sea: But she is suspected of being desirous not to have any masters upon it, in order to have no longer any rivals on the continent; at least, Spain is the only power that has been hitherto persuaded to join her. It is a happy circumstance for Europe, that the maritime forces should cause a diversion to those of the land. Any power that has its own coast to defend, cannot easily overcome the barriers

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barriers of its neighbours. For this purpose immense preparations are required, numberless troops, arsenals of all kinds, and a double provision of means and resources, in order to put schemes of conquest into execution. Since navigation hath prevailed in Europe, it enjoys greater security at home, and a more preponderating influence abroad. Its wars are, perhaps, neither less frequent, nor less bloody; but it suffers less ravage, and is less weakened by them. The operations are conducted with more harmony and more connection; and there are less of those great effects that throw all systems into confusion. There are more attempts, and less mischief. All the various passions of men are directed towards one general good, one grand political view, one happy employment of all natural and moral faculties; which is no other than commerce.

If the art of navigation arose from fishing, as that of war did from the chase, the *Commerce*, navy then owes its existence to commerce. The desire of gain first induced us to make voyages; and one world hath been conquered to enrich another. This object of conquest has been the foundation of commerce; and in order to support commerce, naval forces have become necessary, which are themselves produced by the trading navigation. The Phoenicians, situated on the borders of the sea at the confines of Asia and Africa, to receive and disperse all the riches of the ancient world, founded their colonies and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the masters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded by the ocean upon the best of the European coasts.

The Greeks succeeded the Phoenicians; the Romans came after the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the empire of the sea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original source, towards the east. There it was establish-

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The Greeks succeeded the Phoenicians; the Romans came after the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the empire of the sea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original source, towards the east. There it was establish-

ed, while the barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided ; the din of arms, and the art of war, remained in the west ; but Italy preserved, at least, its communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

The Crusades exhausted in Asia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticism, with which the Europeans were possessed : But they brought back into Europe the taste of Asiatic luxury ; and redeemed, by the commencement of commerce and industry, the blood and the lives they had cost. Three centuries taken up in wars and voyages to the east, gave to the restless spirit of Europe a recruit it stood in need of, that it might not perish by a sort of internal consumption : They prepared the way for that ebullition of genius and activity, which since arose, and displayed itself in the conquest and trade of the East Indies, and of America.

The Portuguese attempted by degrees to double the African coast. They successively seized upon all the points, and all the ports that must necessarily lead them to the Cape of Good Hope. They were engaged, for the space of fourscore years, in making themselves masters of all that western coast, where this great cape terminates. In 1497, Vasco de Gama surmounted this barrier ; and re-ascending by the eastern coast of Africa, arrived by a passage of twelve hundred leagues at the coast of Malabar, where all the treasures of the richest countries of Asia were poured in. This was the spot on which the Portuguese made their conquests.

While this nation was employed in securing the mercantile articles, the Spaniards seized upon that which purchases them, the mines of gold and silver. These metals became not only a vehicle, but likewise an article of commerce. They immediately attracted all the rest in this double capacity. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniences they stood in need of. The effusion of the luxury, and the money of the south of Europe, altered the face and direction of commerce, at the same time that it extended its bounds.

But the two nations that had subdued the East and West Indies, neglected the arts and agriculture. Imagining

gining that gold was to give them every thing, they never considered that it is labour alone which brings gold, and learned, when it was too late, and to their cost, that the industry which they lost was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and it was from the Dutch that they learned this hard lesson.

With all the gold in the world, the Spaniards either became or remained poor; the Dutch soon acquired riches without either lands or mines. Holland is a nation at the service of all the rest, but who sells her services at a high price. As soon as she had taken refuge in the midst of the sea, with industry and freedom, which are her tutelary gods, she perceived that she had not a sufficient quantity of land to support the sixth part of her inhabitants. She then chose the whole world for her domain, and resolved to enjoy it by her navigation and commerce. She made all lands contribute to her subsistence; and all nations supply her with the conveniences of life. Between the north and the south of Europe, she took the place of Flanders, from which she had divided, in order to be concentrated solely in herself. Bruges and Antwerp had attracted Italy and Germany into their ports; Holland in her turn became the staple of all commercial powers, rich or poor. Not satisfied with calling together all other nations, she visited them herself, in order to buy up from one what another wanted; to convey to the north, the merchandise of the south; to sell to the Spaniards ships for cargoes, and to exchange upon the Baltic wine for wood. She imitated the stewards and farmers of large estates, who, by the immense profits they make in them, are, one time or other, enabled to buy them up. It is at the charges of Spain and Portugal, as it were, that Holland succeeded in taking from those powers part of their conquests in the East and West Indies, and almost the whole of the profit of their colonies. She availed herself of the indolence of these proud conquerors; and, by her activity and vigilance, got hold of the key of their treasures, leaving them nothing but the chest, which she took care to empty as fast as they filled it. It is thus that a low kind of people ruined two nations of polite and noble manners; but at the most honest

and the most lawful game that can be met with in the several combinations of chance.

Every circumstance was favourable to the rise and progress of the commerce of the republic; its situation on the borders of the sea, at the mouths of several great rivers; its proximity to the most fertile or best cultivated lands of Europe; its natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it against France; the small extent and fertility of its own territory, which obliged the inhabitants to become fishermen, sailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commissaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by industry for want of domain. Moral causes contributed with the climate and the soil, in establishing and advancing its prosperity: the liberty of its government, which opened an asylum to all strangers dissatisfied with their own; the freedom of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet exercise of all others; that is to say, the agreement of the call of nature with that of conscience, of interests with duties; in a word, that toleration, that universal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth, to God, as to their father, to men, as to their brethren. In short, this commercial republic found out the secret of availing herself of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing its felicity. It turned to its own advantage the civil wars which fanaticism raised among people of a violent spirit, or which patriotism excited among a free people; the indolence and ignorance maintained by bigotry among two nations, subject to the guidance of the imagination.

This spirit of industry in Holland, with which was intermixed a considerable share of that political finess which sows the seeds of jealousy and discord among the nations, at length opened the eyes of other powers. England was the first who perceived, that traffic might be carried on without the interposition of the Dutch. That nation, where the attempts of despotism had given birth to liberty, because they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, grew desirous of purchasing riches by labour, which is the antidote to them. The English first considered commerce as the proper science and

and support of an enlightened, powerful, and even a virtuous people. They considered it rather as an improvement of industry than an acquisition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a source of activity among the people, than a promoter of luxury and magnificence. Invited to trade by their situation, it became the spirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their schemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the common people; but in this happy constitution, by the state or the whole nation; certainly always with the thirst of dominion, which implies the desire of enslaving, but with means, at least, that constitute the happiness of the world before it is subdued. By war, the conqueror is scarce more happy than the conquered; because the only concern between them is that of mischief and blood: But, by commerce, the conquering people necessarily introduce industry into the country, which they would not have conquered, if it had not been there already, or which they would not keep, if they had not brought it along with them. It is upon these principles that England hath founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

The French, situated under as favourable a sky, and upon as happy a soil, have for a long time flattered themselves that they had much to bestow upon other nations, and scarce any thing to ask from them. But Colbert was sensible that, in the fermentation all Europe was in at this time, there would be an evident gain for the culture and productions of a country that should work upon those of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollen stuffs, the silks, the dyes, the embroideries, the gold and silver stuffs, were brought to so high a pitch of refinement in the hands of the French, that they were in great request among those nobles who were in possession of the greatest landed property. To increase the produce of the arts, it was necessary to get the best materials, and these could only be supplied by direct commerce. The chances of navigation had given France some possessions in the new world, as they had to all the plunderers that had

had taken to the sea. The ambition of some individuals had formed colonies there, which had been at first supported, and even aggrandized by the trade of the Dutch and the English. A national navy would of course restore to the mother-country this natural connection with its colonists. The government, therefore, established its naval forces upon the strength of its commercial navigation. The nation would then necessarily make a double profit upon the materials and the workmanship of the manufactures. The French pushed this precarious and temporary branch with an activity and spirit of emulation which must have left their rivals far behind them for a long time; and France still enjoys that superiority over other nations, in all those arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to industry.

The natural volatility of the character of this nation, and its turn to trifles, hath brought treasures to the state, by the lucky propagation of their fashions. Like to that light and delicate sex, which teaches and inspires us with a taste for dress, the French reign in all courts, at least, by the toilet; and their art of pleasing is one of the mysterious sources of their fortune and power. Other nations have mastered the world by those simple and rustic manners that constitute the warlike virtues; it was given them alone to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will last till they are debased under the feet of their masters by arbitrary and unprincipled strokes of authority, when they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then they will lose, with their confidence in themselves, that industry, which is one of the sources of their opulence and of the springs of their activity. They will soon have neither manufactures, colonies, nor trade.

This new principle of the moral world hath gradually insinuated itself, till it is become, as it were, essentially necessary to the formation and existence of political bodies. The taste for luxury and ease hath produced the love of labour, which constitutes at present the chief strength of a state. In reality, the sedentary occupations of the mechanic arts render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the seasons, and less fit to be exposed to the open air, which is the first nutri-

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tive principle of life. But still, it is better that the human race should be enervated under the roofs of workshops, than inured to hardships under tents; because war destroys, while commerce, on the contrary, creates. By this happy revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. A people immersed in poverty can no longer become formidable to a rich nation. Strength is at present an attendant on riches; because riches are no longer the fruits of conquest, but the product of assiduous labour, and of a life spent in unremitted employment. Gold and silver corrupt only those indolent minds who indulge in the delights of luxury, upon that stage of intrigue and meanness, that is called greatness. But these metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a spirit of agriculture in the fields, of navigation in the maritime cities; and, in the center of the state, they introduce the manufacturing of arms, cloathing, furniture, and the construction of buildings. A spirit of emulation exists between man and nature; they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and fashioned by the arts they profess. If there are some occupations which soften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at least, propagate in order to destroy themselves, as among the barbarous nations in heroic times. It is certainly an easy and agreeable task, to describe the Romans, with the single art of war subduing all the other arts, and all the other nations, indolent or commercial, civilized or savage; breaking or despising the vessels of Corinth, more happy with their gods made of clay, than with the golden statues of their worthless emperors. But it is a more pleasing, and perhaps, a finer sight, to view all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually going round the globe, to cultivate and make it fit for mankind; to see them put in motion, by the vivifying breath of industry, all the regenerating powers of nature; seek in the abyss of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new supports, or new enjoyments; stir and raise up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; establish be-

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tween the two hemispheres, by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that unite one continent with the other; pursue all the tracts of the sun, overcome the annual barriers, and pass from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word, to see them open all the streams of population and pleasure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thousand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the Divinity contemplates his work with satisfaction, and does not repent himself of having made man.

Such is the image of commerce: Let us now admire the genius of the trader. The same understanding that Newton had to calculate the motions of the stars, he exerts in tracing the motions of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to resolve, as the circumstances of them are not taken from the invariable laws of nature, as the systems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices of men, and uncertainty of a thousand events. That exactness of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu must have had, the one to destroy, the other to establish despotic monarchy, the trader also possesses, and carries it further: For he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety of relative considerations, which it is seldom given to the statesman, or even to the philosopher, to comprehend and estimate. Nothing must escape him; he must foresee the influence of the seasons upon the plenty, the scarcity, and the quality of commodities, upon the departure or return of his ships; the influence of political affairs upon those of commerce; the changes which war or peace must necessarily occasion in the prices and run of merchandise, in the quantity and choice of provisions, in the state of the cities and ports of the whole world; he must know the consequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progress, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the several trading companies; the counter stroke that the fall of any European power in India may give to Africa and America; the stagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking up of some channels

channels of industry ; the reciprocal connection there is between most branches of trade, and the mutual assistances they lend, by the temporary injuries they seem to inflict upon each other ; he must know the proper time to begin, and when to stop in all new undertakings : In a word, he must know the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and to make his own fortune with that of his country, or rather to enrich himself by extending the general prosperity of mankind. Such are the objects that fall under the profession of a merchant.

Above all, it is the trader's peculiar business to pry into the depths of the human heart, and to treat with his equals in appearance, as if they were honest, but, in reality, as if they were men of no probity. Commerce is a science that requires at the same time a thorough knowledge of men and things. The difficulty of the science, it must be acknowledged, is less owing to the multiplicity of objects, than to the rapaciousness of those who profess it. If emulation increases a concurrence of efforts, the success of them is prevented by jealousy. If interest is the vice that destroys professions in general, what must be its effects upon that profession which owes its existence to that principle ? Its own eagerness destroys it. The thirst of gain spreads over commerce a spirit of avarice that contracts every thing, even the means of amassing.

Are merchants to be blamed for that rivalry of governments which restrains general industry by reciprocal prohibitions ? or is the censure to fall on the tyranny of authority, which, in order to acquire gain without the trouble of commerce, confines all the classes of industry by corporations ? Certainly on the latter ; for all these societies stifle the very life of commerce, which is liberty. To compel the indigent man to pay for the privilege of working, is to condemn him at once to idleness by indigence, and to indigence by idleness : it is to diminish the sum total of national labour ; to impoverish the people by enriching the treasury ; and to annihilate them both.

The jealousy of trade between states is nothing more than a secret conspiracy to ruin each other, without enriching

riching either. Those who govern the people, employ the same address in defending themselves from the industry of nations, as in preserving themselves from the intrigues of the great. One single mean and wicked man is able to introduce a hundred restraints into Europe. New chains are forged as fast as destructive weapons. Prohibitions in commerce, and extortions in the finance, have given rise to smugglers and galley slaves, to customs and monopolies, to pirates and excisemen. Centinels and obstacles are placed in all parts of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no quiet, the merchant preserves no property; both the one and the other are exposed to all the snares of an insidious legislation, that mingles the offence with the prohibition, and the penalty with the offence. A man becomes culpable without knowing it, or without meaning to be so: He is arrested, plundered, and taxed, though he is all the while innocent. The rights of the people are violated by their protectors; the rights of the citizen are invaded by the citizen: The courtier is perpetually tormenting the statesman; and the contractor oppresses the merchant. Such is the state of commerce in time of peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars?

It is natural enough, that a people pent up in the icy regions of the north, should wrest iron from the bowels of the earth that refuses them subsistence; and should go sword in hand to reap the harvest of another nation: Hunger, which knows no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. They must necessarily live by carnage, when they have no corn. But, when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can furnish subsistence to several other states from the superfluity of their own riches; what interest can they have in declaring war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live on pain of death? Why do they arrogate to themselves an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and sailing, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? We can certainly discover the motives of such wars; we know that

the jealousy of commerce is nothing more than a jealousy of power. But have any people the right to obstruct a work they cannot execute themselves, and to condemn another nation to idleness, because they chuse to devote themselves to it?

A war of commerce, is a contradiction in terms! Commerce nourishes, but war destroys: Commerce may, possibly, give rise to war, and keep it up; but war cuts off all the sources of commerce. Whatever one nation may gain upon another in commerce, it is a source of industry and emulation for them both: In war, it turns out to be a mutual loss; for plunder, fire, and sword, neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are so much the more fatal, as, by the present influence of the sea over the land, and of Europe over the three other quarters of the globe, the conflagration becomes general; and because the dissensions of two maritime powers excite the spirit of discord among all their allies, and occasion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

All the coasts and seas tinged with blood and covered with carcases, the thunders of war reaching from pole to pole, between Africa, Asia, and America, as well throughout the sea that separates us from the new world, as throughout the vast extent of the Pacific ocean; such is the spectacle exhibited in the two last wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately shaken, or have distinguished themselves by some great stroke. The earth, however, was depopulated, and commerce did not repair the loss; the lands were exhausted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not assist the progress of agriculture. The loans of the state ruined the fortunes of the citizens by usurious profits, the fore-runners of bankruptcy. Even those powers that were victorious sank under the weight of their conquests, and, seizing upon a greater extent of land than they could either keep or cultivate, involved themselves in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers, who were desirous of enriching themselves in peace, in the midst of these broils, received and put up with insults more disgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

How highly absurd are those commercial wars, equal-

ly destructive to all the nations concerned, without being advantageous to such as are not engaged in them; those wars, where the sailors become soldiers, and the merchant ships are turned into privateers; where the traffic between the mother countries and their colonies is interrupted, and the price of their reciprocal commodities is raised!

What a source of political abuses are those treaties of commerce which become so many seeds of war! those exclusive privileges which one nation acquires over another, either for a traffic of luxury, or for the necessaries of life! A general liberty granted to industry and commerce, is the only treaty which a maritime power should establish at home, or negotiate abroad. A nation that would take this step, would be the benefactor of the human race. The more labour was encouraged upon land, and the greater number of ships there were at sea, so much the more would such a people enjoy the advantages aimed at by negotiations and by war; for there will be no increase of riches in any country, if there be no industry among its neighbours, who can acquire nothing but by articles of exchange, or by the means of gold and silver. But without commerce and industry, there can be no metals, nor manufactures of value; nor can either of these springs of riches exist without liberty. The inactivity of one nation is prejudicial to all the rest, either by increasing their labour, or by depriving them of what it ought to produce. The effect of the present system of commerce and industry, is the total subversion of order.

The want of the fine fleeces of Spain is supplied by the flocks of England; and the silk manufactures of Italy are improved even in Germany. The wines of Portugal might be improved, were it not for the exclusive charter granted to a particular company. The mountains of the north and south would be sufficient to supply Europe with wood and metals, and the vallies would of course produce a greater plenty of corn and fruits. Manufactures would be raised in barren countries, if these could be supplied with plenty of the necessaries of life by a free circulation. Whole provinces would not be left uncultivated in the heart of a country, in order

to fertilize some unwholesome morasses; where, while the people are supported by the productions of the land, the influence of the air and the water tends to their destruction. We should not see all the rich produce of commerce confined to particular cities of a large kingdom, as the privileges and fortunes of the whole people are to some particular families. Circulation would be quicker, and the consumption increased. Each province would cultivate its favourite production, and each family its own little field. And under every roof there would be one child to spare for the purposes of navigation, and the improvement of the arts. Europe, like China, would swarm with multitudes of industrious people. In short, freedom of trade would insensibly produce that universal peace which a brave but humane monarch once considered not as merely chimerical. While each man calculated his own advantage, the national system of happiness would be founded on the improvement of reason, which would prove a more effectual security to morals, than the phantoms of superstition. These presently disappear, as soon as passions exert themselves, whilst reason gains strength and advances to maturity along with them.

COMMERCE, which arises naturally from agriculture, returns to it by its propensity, and by its circulation: Thus, the rivers return to the sea, which has produced them, by the exhalation of its waters into vapours, and by the fall of those vapours in the form of water. The quantity of gold brought, by the transportation and consumption of the fruits of the earth, returns again at last into its bosom, and reproduces all the necessaries of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands are not cultivated, all commerce is precarious; because it is deprived of its principal fund, the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the tree belongs to those people who are skilled in the cultivation of land. Agriculture is, therefore, the chief and real opulence of a state.

Agriculture.

This is a circumstance that had escaped the Romans

in the intoxication of their conquests, which had given them all the earth without their cultivating it. It was unknown to the Barbarians, who, destroying by the sword an empire that had been established by it, abandoned to slaves the cultivation of the lands, of which they reserved to themselves the fruits and the property. This point was mistaken also, even in the age subsequent to the discovery of the East and West Indies: Whether it was that in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion; or, that the conquests made by Portugal and Spain beyond the seas, having brought us treasures without labour, we contented ourselves with enjoying them by luxury and the arts, without thinking of perpetuating these riches.

But the time came, when plunder ceased for want of an object. When the conquered lands in the new world had been fought for and divided, it became necessary to cultivate them; and to procure food for the colonists of these settlements. As these were Europeans, they cultivated for Europe productions which it did not furnish, and asked in return those provisions which custom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and the number of sailors and manufacturers increased with the increase of productions, the lands must necessarily furnish a surplus of subsistence for the increase of population; an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of exchange and consumption. The hard labours of navigation, and the corruption of provisions in the transportation, causing a greater loss of materials and produce, the inhabitants were obliged to solicit and stir up the earth to yield her fruits in greater abundance. The consumption of American commodities, far from lessening that of European productions, served only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial, necessarily became at the same time the best cultivators.

England first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums bestowed upon the planters. A medal was struck
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and presented to the Duke of Bedford, with the following inscription, *For having planted oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from similar motives; and yet temples and altars are still erected to lazy monks! The God of nature will not suffer that mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all generous and sublime souls, in the hearts of all people, and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The eulogium of agriculture is in its own reward, in the satisfying of our wants. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one,* said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* What pity is it that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Dr Swift's brain! But a nation that can produce such writers, must necessarily verify this beautiful sentence; and, accordingly, we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

Led by the example of the English, all other nations that knew the value of industry, brought it back to its true origin, and primary destination. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the French, who, under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured, at length, to write on matters of importance, and of evident utility. The undertaking of an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, placed every great object in view, and set all men of abilities at work. The Spirit of Laws was published, and the boundaries of genius were enlarged. Natural history was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the art of knowing and describing nature. This history, bold and great as its subject, warmed the imaginations of its readers, and attached them powerfully to contemplations, which a nation cannot relinquish, without again degenerating into a state of barbarism. In less than twenty years, the eyes of the French nation were open to their real interests. They communicated their knowledge to government; and agriculture, if it was not encouraged by rewards, was, at least, patronized by some ministers.

Germany hath felt the happy influence of that enlightened spirit which fertilizes the earth, and encreases the number of its inhabitants. All the northern climates have exerted themselves to make the most of their lands. Even Spain has been active ; and, though deficient in natives, has at least engaged foreign husbandmen to labour in her uncultivated provinces.

It is a singular and yet a natural circumstance, that men should have returned to the first of the arts only, after having gone through all the rest. It is the usual course of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It is always going forwards ; and, as it relinquished agriculture, to follow the road of commerce and luxury, it went rapidly round the circle, and returned at last into the nursery of all the arts, where it fixed its residence, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the avaritious and curious man, who banishes himself from his country in his youth, tired with running about the world, returns at last to live and die under his native roof.

Every thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states ; and brings riches into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source except the land, is artificial and precarious, either in natural or moral philosophy. Industry and commerce, which do not act immediately upon the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be done either by establishing the same branch of industry among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of those materials in manufacture. But a state well manured, and well cultivated, produces men by the fruits of the earth, and those men produce riches. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows to bring forth foldiers to destroy each other ; it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of stars.

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The government, therefore, owes its support to the fields rather than to the cities. The first are mothers and nurses, always fruitful; the others are nothing more than daughters, often ungrateful and barren. The cities can scarcely subsist, but from the superfluous part of the population and produce of the fields. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which seem to be connected with the whole world by their ships, which diffuse more riches than they possess, do not, however, attract all the treasures they dispense, but by the produce of the fields that surround them. The tree must therefore be watered at its root. The cities will only be flourishing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

But this fertility depends less upon the soil than upon the inhabitants. Spain, and even Italy, though situated under a climate the most favourable to agriculture, produce less than France or England; because the efforts of nature are impeded in a thousand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the inhabitants are attached to the country by property, by the security of their funds and revenues, the lands will flourish and prosper. In all parts where the privileges are not confined to the cities, and the labours to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of his ancestors, and will increase and embellish it by assiduous cultivation; and his children will be multiplied in proportion to his means, and his means be increased in proportion to his children.

It is, therefore, the interest of government to favour the husbandmen, in preference to all the indolent classes of society. Nobility is but an odious distinction, when not founded upon services of real and unquestionable advantage to the state; as, for instance, the defence of the nation against the encroachments of conquest, and against the enterprizes of despotism. The nobles furnish only a precarious, and oftentimes a fatal assistance; when, after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they go forth to lend a feeble defence to their country in her fleets and in her armies; and afterwards return to court, to solicit, as a reward for their baseness, places and honours, which are irritating and burdensome to the nation. The clergy
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are a set of men of no use, at least to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with scandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which, from their ignorance and from their example, is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable; when, after having disgraced, discredited, and overturned religion, by a variety of abuses, of sophisms, of crimes, and usurpations, they wish to diffuse it by persecution; then this privileged, idle, and turbulent set of men, become the most dreadful enemies of the state and of the nation. The only good and respectable part of them that remains, is that set of the clergy who are most despised, and most burdened with duty, and who being situated among the lower class of people in the country, labour, edify, advise, comfort, and relieve a multitude of unhappy persons.

The husbandmen deserve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the professors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the same time to leave the fields neglected, that source of industry which has first erected and supports them, is to forget the order of the several relations between nature and society. To favour the arts, and to neglect agriculture, is to remove the basis of a pyramid, in order to finish the top. The mechanical arts engage a sufficient number of hands by the attraction of the riches they procure to the undertakers, by the comforts they supply the workmen with, by the ease, pleasures, and conveniences that arise in cities where the several branches of industry are encouraged. It is the rustic life that stands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is exposed to, and of indemnification for the losses and vexations it sustains. The husbandman is placed at a distance from every object that can either flatter his ambition, or gratify his curiosity. He lives in a state of separation from the distinctions and pleasures of society. He cannot give his children a polite education, without sending them far from him, nor place them in a road of fortune that may distinguish and advance them. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from him. In a word,

he undergoes all the troubles that nature brings, without being benefited by its pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burdensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

Men are naturally attached to the liberal arts by their particular genius, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the reputation they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to a rustic life, unless he enjoys in quietness what he possesses, and what he gathers; if he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him; if military services, if vassalage and taxes are to rob him of his son, his cattle, and his grain, nothing remains for him but to curse both the climate and the earth that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A wise government cannot refuse to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without destruction to itself: The most ready and effectual means of assisting it, is to favour the multiplication of its produce of every kind, by the most free and unbounded circulation.

An indefinite liberty in the exchange of commodities renders a people at the same time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and those of the merchant towards cultivation: It connects them by ties that are regularly kept up. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities; and there is a reciprocal connection and communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities in reality brings on the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated to the utmost extent; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn encourages that of vines, by furnishing a constant and certain subsistence to him who neither sows nor reaps, but plants, prunes, and gathers his fruit.

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Let us now consider the effects of a contrary system, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce by particular laws; and let us observe what mischiefs will ensue. The prying interference of authority will not only wish to see and know every thing that is done, but even impede the doing of it. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn; they will be collected in crowds, and dispersed at the nod of a tyrant, to be slaughtered in the carnage of war, or to perish to no purpose in fleets, or in colonies. The life of a state will become its destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people, will be enabled to prosper, and the states will tend quickly to their dissolution, that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their rulers. What then will become of manufactures?

*Manufac-
tures.*

AGRICULTURE give births to the arts, when it has been carried to that degree of abundance and perfection which gives men leisure to sit down, invent, and procure themselves the conveniencies of life; and when it has produced a population sufficiently numerous to be employed on other labours, besides what are due to the land. Then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As soon as war has blunted the rudeness and ferocity of a robust nation; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of an empire, those men who have been exercised in arms must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the scissars, the shuttle, in a word, of all the tools of commerce and industry; for the land, which subsisted for many men without any of their own labour, does not require them to return to the plough. As the arts ever have a country of their own, a peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flourish in tranquillity, it is easier to repair thither in search of them, than to wait at home till they shall have grown up, and shall have advanced with the tardy progression of ages, and the favour of chance, which presides over the discoveries of genius. Thus all the industrious nations of Europe have borrowed the most considerable share of the arts from

from Asia. Their invention seems to have been as original as mankind.

The beauty and fertility of those climes hath at all times engendered a most numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There, laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have arisen from the settled state of government; and luxury, the parent of every enjoyment that attends industry, has sprung out of the richness of the soil. India, China, Persia, and Egypt, were in possession not only of all the treasures of nature, but also of the most brilliant inventions of art. War has frequently obliterated every monument of genius in these parts; but they, as well as mankind, revive again out of their own ruins. Not unlike those laborious swarms we see perish in their hives by the wintry blast of the north, and which reproduce themselves in spring, retaining still the same love of labour and order; there are certain Asiatic nations which have always preserved the arts of luxury with their materials, notwithstanding the incursions and conquests of the Tartars.

It was in a country successively subdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even Christianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and sciences without searching for them. The Crusades exhausted their fanatic zeal, and threw off their barbarism at Constantinople. It was by journeying to visit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a cross, that they acquired a taste for magnificence, grandeur, and wealth. By them the Asiatic pomp was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the seat from whence religion spread her empire over other countries, was the first to adopt a species of industry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worship, and those processions which serve to keep up devotion by means of the senses, when once she has seized on the heart. Christian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the eastern nations, was still to draw from thence their support, the splendour of wealth.

Venice, whose gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being industrious. The
Italians

Italians raised up manufactures, and were a long time in possession of all the arts, even after the conquest of the East and West Indies had caused the treasures of the whole world to overflow in Europe. Flanders drew her handicrafts from Italy; England hers from Flanders; and France borrowed the general industry of all countries. Of the English she purchased her stocking looms, which work ten times as fast as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the people of Flanders. Paris surpassed Persia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapestry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the transparency and size of her mirrors. France learned to dispense with part of her Italian silks, and with English broad cloths. The Germans have kept, with their iron and copper mines, the superiority in melting, tempering, and working up those metals. But the art of giving the polish and fashion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniencies of life, seems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that they, in the vanity of pleasing others, find the means of succeeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant show; or that, in reality, grace and ease are the constant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who, by instinct, are in possession of taste. Every people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and should multiply their productions to maintain their artists. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their industry must be confined in its causes, its means, and its effects. Having but few wants and desires, they would exert themselves but little, employ fewer hands, and work less time. They would neither know how to extend nor improve their cultivation. Should such a people be possessed of more arts than materials, they must submit to the mercy of strangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by sinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raising the value of their provisions. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join industry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working

working it up, they have then within themselves every thing necessary for their existence and preservation, and every seed of greatness and prosperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accomplishing every thing they wish, and stimulated with the desire of acquiring every thing that is possible.

Nothing is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it is their element, and they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artist may work in every country of the world, because he works for the world in general. Talents fly every where from slavery, while soldiers find slavery in all parts. When the Protestants were driven out of France through the want of toleration in the ecclesiastics, they opened to themselves a refuge in every civilized state in Europe: But, when the Jesuits have been banished from their own country, they have found no asylum any where; not even in Italy, the nurse of monarchism and intolerance.

The arts multiply the means of acquiring fortune, and contribute, by a more ample distribution of wealth, to a more equitable partition of property. Thus an end is put to that excessive inequality among men, the unfortunate consequence of oppression, tyranny, and stupefaction of a whole people.

Manufactures contribute to the advancement of knowledge and of the sciences. The torch of industry, serves to enlighten at once a vast horizon. No art is single; the greater part of them have their forms, modes, instruments, and elements in common. The mechanical arts alone have contributed prodigiously to extend the study of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of science has unfolded itself with the progress of the arts and handicrafts. Mines, mills, cloth-works, dying, have enlarged the sphere of philosophy and natural history. Luxury has given rise to the art of enjoyment, which depends entirely on the liberal arts. As soon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inside of our houses; while sculpture and painting are at the same time at work for the embellishment and adorning of the edifice. The art of design is employed in our dress and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in novelty,

velty, is varying without end its sketches and shades on our stuffs and porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in composing, at leisure, master-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or those happy systems of policy and philosophy, which restore to the people their natural rights, and to sovereigns all their glory, which consists in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their subjects, by the means of reason and equity.

Then it is that the arts produce that spirit of society which constitutes the happiness of civil life, which gives relaxation to the more serious occupations, by entertainments, shews, concerts, conversations; in short, by every species of agreeable amusement. Ease gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the several ranks of men. Business adds a value or a charm to the pleasures that are its recompence. Every citizen, assured of his subsistence, by the produce of his industry, has leisure for all the agreeable or toilsome occupations of life, as well as that repose of mind which leads on to the sweets of sleep. Not but that avarice makes many victims; but still less than war or superstition, the continual scourges of an indolent people.

Next to the cultivation of the land, that of the arts, then, is most fitted for man. At present both the one and the other make up the strength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people must have prevailed over the strong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of the nations who are in possession of the arts.

Since Europe has been overspread with manufactures, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and disposition. The desire of wealth has arisen in all parts from the love of pleasure. We no longer see any people who tamely consent to be poor, because poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are forced, indeed, to confess, that the arts in this world supply the place of virtues. Industry may produce vices; but, at least, it banishes those of idleness, which are a thousand times more dangerous. As knowledge gradually dispels every species of fanaticism, men being employed

ployed for the occasions of luxury, do not destroy one another through superstition. At least, human blood is not spilt without some appearance of interest; and war, probably, cuts off only those fierce and violent beings that are produced in every state; enemies to, and disturbers of all order, without any other talent, or any other propensity than that of doing mischief: The arts restrain that spirit of dissention, by subjecting man to stated and constant employments: They bestow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the lowest a kind of consequence and importance by the utility they confer. Such a workman at forty, has been of more real value to the state, than a whole family of vassals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal system. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village than twenty castles of antient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact, that, in the present state of things, the people who are the most industrious, ought to be the most happy and the most powerful, either because, in wars that are unavoidable, they furnish of themselves, or procure by their wealth, more soldiers, more ammunition, and more forces, both for sea or land service; or that, having a greater interest in maintaining peace, they escape broils, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in case of a defeat, they are better enabled to repair their losses by dint of labour; or that they are happy in the enjoyments of a more mild and more enlightened government, notwithstanding the means of corruption and slavery that tyranny is supplied with by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a state ought to seize upon every opportunity of making manufactures flourish.

These opportunities depend on the climate, which, as Polybius says, forms the figure, complexion, and manners of nations. The most temperate climate must necessarily be the most favourable to that kind of industry, which is of a sedentary nature. If the climate is too hot, it is inconsistent with the establishment of manufactures, which require the concurrence of several

persons together to carry on the same work ; and excludes all those arts which require furnaces, or strong lights. If the climate is too cold, it is not proper for those arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too small a distance from the Equator, man is unfit for several labours, which seem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great go to search among the best regulated states of Europe for such arts as could humanize his country ; during a period of fifty years, not one of all those principles has been able to take root among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists are strangers in that land ; and, if they think of taking up their residence there, their talents and their works soon die along with them. It was to no purpose, that the Protestants, whom Lewis XIV. persecuted in his old age, as if that was the time of life for proscription, introduced their arts and trades among the people who received them ; they were no longer able to work in the same manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, their art pined or decayed, for want of being warmed or lighted up by the same rays of the sun.

To the favourable disposition of the climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, should be united the advantage of the political situation of the state. When it is of such extent as to have nothing to fear or wish for in point of security ; when it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the landing of materials, and the vent of what is worked up ; when it is situated between powers who have iron mines to employ its industry, and others that have mines of gold to reward it ; when it has nations on each side with ports and roads open on every quarter ; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

But one advantage, still more essential, is fertility of soil. If cultivation requires too many hands, workmen cannot be supplied, or the workshop will depopulate the fields ; whence it must happen, that the dearth of provisions, while it raises the price of workmanship, will also diminish the number of handicrafts.

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Where fertility of soil is wanting, manufactures require, at least, frugality. A nation that expends much on its mere subsistence will absorb the whole profits of its industry. If luxury either exceeds the pace or degree of labour, it is lost at its very source; it withers and dries up the trunk that is to convey sap to it. If the workman will feed and cloth himself like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is soon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to observe from views of parsimony. This may be the reason, perhaps, that the arts, even those of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for under monarchical institutions, poverty is not always the sharpest spur with the people to industry. Labour, proceeding from hunger, is narrow and confined, like the appetite it springs from; but the work that arises from ambition, spreads and increases as naturally as the vice itself.

National character has much influence over the progress of the arts relative to luxury and ornament. A particular people is fitted for invention by that very levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The same nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dress. Another nation, less lively, has less taste for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing fashions. Being of a more serious turn, they are more inclined to the debauch of the table, and to intoxication that frees them at once from all their enemies. Of these nations, the one must succeed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and must have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the same arts.

The advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further seconded by the form of government. If industry be favourable to national liberty, liberty in return should assist industry. Exclusive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which competition only can encourage. Even the rights of apprenticeship, and the value set on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The state is prejudiced by that sort of privilege which favours incorporated trades; that is, pet-

ty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower class of the people the liberty of chusing the profession that suits their genius, every profession is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exercised by those who have the most money; the meaner, and less expensive, fall often to the share of men born to excel in a distinguished art. Employed in a business for which they have no taste, both the one and the other neglect their work, and prejudice the art: The first, because they are beneath it; the latter, because they are sensible of their being above it. But, if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we shall produce a rivalry in the workmen, and consequently, abundance and perfection in the work.

It may be a question, whether it be most beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to disperse them over the country? This point is determined by facts. The arts of the first necessity have remained where they were first produced, in those places which have furnished the materials. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of industry and luxury cannot be inhabitants of the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts, which are combined in watch and clock making, we shall ruin Geneva, with all the works that support it. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns; and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If eighteen hands are wanting to make a pin, through how many handicrafts, how many artificers, must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat, pass? How shall we be able to find, amidst an interior and central province, the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the festal entertainments of a court? We must confine, then, or rather retain in the country, such innocent and simple arts as flourish unconnected with others; and work up in the provinces the common stuffs for clothing the populace. We must establish between the capital and the other towns, a reciprocal dependence of

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wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion; workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of trade, and freedom of industry, and your manufactures will prosper, your population will increase.

HAS the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be learnt from history; because half the inhabited globe has had no historians, and half of history is full of falsehoods. Who has ever taken, or could at any time take an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in her younger days. But where is that golden age? Is it when a dry sand arises from the bed of the sea, and comes to purge itself in the rays of the sun? is it then that the slime produces vegetables, animals, and human creatures? But the whole surface of the earth must alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every species, an infant state, a state of weakness and sterility, before she arrived at the age of fecundity. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, lying uncultivated beneath sands and morasses, wild and overgrown with bushes and forests, till the human species, being thrown by accident on these deserts and solitudes, has cleared, altered, and peopled the land. But as all the causes of population are subordinate to those natural laws which govern the universe, as well as to the influences of soil and atmosphere, which are subject to a thousand calamities, it must ever have varied with those periods of nature that have been either adverse or favourable to the increase of mankind. However, as the lot of every species seems in a manner to depend on its faculties, it is in the history of the unfolding of human industry that we must search in general for the history of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it may at least be doubted, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than at present.

Let us leave Asia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us at all periods covered with innumerable

merable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious, that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruits) men did but just make their appearance, and succeeded one another in their generations, like torrents, swallowed up either by famine, pestilence, or war. Let us dwell some time on the subject of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

In order to decide whether our continent was formerly more populous than in our times, it is sufficient to examine, whether it was then more cultivated. Do any traces remain among us of plantations that have been abandoned? What coast is there where men could land; what country that was accessible, and is at present without inhabitants? If discoveries are made of the ruins of some old towns, it is beneath the foundations of cities as large as the former. But, should even Italy and Spain have fallen off from their ancient population, to what a degree are not the other states of Europe increased in the number of their inhabitants? What were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned up in Gaul, but a sort of savage nations more formidable in name than in number? All those Britons, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, were they much more numerous than the Corsicans are at present? Germany, indeed, as it should seem, must have been extremely well peopled, as she alone brought into subjection, in the compass of two or three centuries, the best part of Europe. But we must observe, that these were the people of a territory ten times as large, who possessed themselves of a country at present inhabited by three or four nations; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her subjects, that the Roman empire was destroyed and reduced to subjection. In this astonishing revolution, we may readily admit, that the victorious nations never amounted to one twentieth part of those that were conquered; because the former made their attacks with half their numbers of real people, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth

dredth part of their effective inhabitants in their defence. But a people who fight entirely for themselves, are much more powerful than ten armies raised by kings and princes.

Besides, those long and bloody wars, of which ancient history is so full, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to exhibit. If, on the one hand, the Romans took pains to repair at home the losses their victories made in their armies, the very spirit of conquest which possessed them, consumed, at least, other nations; for no sooner had they made the conquest of any people, than they incorporated them into their own armies, and undermined their strength as much by recruits as by tribute. It is well known with what rage the ancients carried on war: That often in a siege, a whole town was laid in ashes; men, women, and children perished in the flames, rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that, in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, they all preferred to die, sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If, as we must acknowledge, some victims were saved by slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of condition among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or republics, was calculated to multiply families by the partition of lands, it likewise often occasioned reciprocal quarrels among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinity of different points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. It is owing to their size that large bodies resist motion; small bodies are in a perpetual agitation, which shatters them to pieces.

If war was destructive of population in ancient times, it was not always peace that could restore it. Formerly, all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power; and these two forms of government are by no means propitious to the increase of the human species. The free cities of Greece were guided by laws so complicated, that they occasioned continual dissensions among

merable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious, that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruits) men did but just make their appearance, and succeeded one another in their generations, like torrents, swallowed up either by famine, pestilence, or war. Let us dwell some time on the subject of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

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mong the citizens. Even the populace, who had no right of suffrage, did not fail to give the law in the public meetings, where a man of talents with his eloquence was enabled to set so many persons in commotion. Besides, in these states, population tended to concentrate itself within the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in short, all the effects and springs of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical states must have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and, as they all had ambitious views, and had no other means of increasing their grandeur but war, except only Athens, whose commerce, indeed, was also owing to the force of arms, the earth could not long flourish and produce population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at least the only countries of Europe better peopled than they are at present.

Excepting in Greece, which repelled, restrained, and subdued Asia; excepting in Carthage, which for a little while appeared on the borders of Africa, and soon sank again into nothing; excepting in Rome, which brought into subjection and destroyed the whole of the known world; where do we find a state of population that bears any comparison with what a traveller meets with at this day on every sea-coast, along all the great rivers, and on all the roads to capital cities? What vast forests are turned into cultivated fields? What harvests are waving in the place of those reeds that formerly covered marshy grounds? What numbers of civilized people now subsist on dried fish, and salted provisions?

In the police, in the morals, and in the politics of the moderns, we may decern many causes of propagation that did not exist among the ancients. But, at the same time, we observe likewise some inconveniences which may obstruct or diminish among us that sort of progress, which, in our species, should be most conducive to its being raised to the height of perfection. For men will never be more numerous, unless they are more happy.

Population depends in a great measure on the distribution of landed property. Families multiply in the same manner as their possessions; and, when they are

too large, the exorbitancy of them always stops population. A man of large property, working only for himself, sets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleasures. All he appropriates to hunting is a double loss in point of cultivation; for he breeds cattle on the land that should belong to men, instead of subsisting men on the land which belongs to animals. Wood is wanted in a country for repairs and fuel: But is there any occasion for so many avenues in a park; or for parterres, and kitchen gardens of such a size as belong to our large houses? In this case, does luxury, which in its magnificence affords sustenance to the arts, prove as favourable to the increase of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purposes? There are too many large estates, therefore, and too few small ones. This is the first impediment to population.

The next obstacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy: When so much property remains for ever in the same hands, how is it possible that population should flourish, when it owes its birth solely to the improvement of lands, by the increase of shares among real proprietors? What interest has the incumbent to add a value to an estate he is not to transmit to his natural successor; to sow or plant for a posterity not derived from himself? Far from diminishing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather risque the impairing of his living, in order to increase the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

The entails of estates in noble families are not less prejudicial to the propagation of the species. They lessen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. Just as primogeniture in illustrious houses, sacrifices the younger children to the interest of the elder branch, entails destroy several families for the sake of a single one. Almost all entailed estates fail in their culture by the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a possession he is not allowed to dispose of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his successors who are not to be his heirs, because they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture and entail, is then a law, one may

may say, made on purpose to defeat the increase of population in any state.

From the two first obstacles to population, produced by the defect of legislation, there arises a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground rent, their life is miserable, and their fortune precarious. Not being certain of their subsistence, which depends on their health, having but small reliance on their strength, which they are obliged to sell, and cursing the day of their birth, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is a mistake to think, that plenty of children are produced in the country, when there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother, are lost to them and to their children; for they will never come to the prime of life, to that state of maturity which by its produce is to recompence all the pains of bringing them up. With a small portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father, at the expence of his labour abroad, might improve the conveniencies of the family. Not having any property, these three beings pine from the smallness of the gains of the single person, or the child perishes from the toils of the mother.

What numberless evils arise from a faulty or defective legislation? Calamities are abundant: They are multiplied only to destroy the whole, and grow one out of another, till the system is totally annihilated. The indigence of the country produces an increase of troops, a burden ruinous in its nature, destructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain, that the military are the ruin of lands they do not assist in cultivating; because every soldier deprives the public of a labourer, and burdens it with an idle or useless consumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious system which, under the pretext of defence, makes all nations aggressors. If all governments would, as they easily might, leave to assist in cultivation the hands they deprive it of by an army, population in a short time would considerably increase the number of labourers and artists throughout Europe. All

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the powers of human industry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in getting the better of her difficulties; every thing would concur in promoting existence, not in spreading destruction.

The deserts of Russia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waste. The vast dominions of the Turks would be cultivated, and the blessing of their prophet would spread itself over an immense population. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, would again become what they were in the times of the Phoenicians, in the days of their shepherd-kings, and of the Jews who enjoyed happiness and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile; the heaths of Aquitania would be cleared of insects, and be covered with people.

But general good is merely the delusive dream of benevolent persons. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbe of St Pierre. Their works are composed for the peopling of wildernesses, not with hermits who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the stars declare it in the firmament. It is in their truly inspired writings that life and humanity are to be found; for humanity is the gift of Heaven. Kings will insure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themselves are attached to such men.

Need it be mentioned, that one of the means to favour population is to suppress the celibacy of the regular and secular clergy. Monastic institutions have a reference to two very remarkable æras in the history of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, a new religion sprang up in the east with the Messiah; and, with Paganism, the Roman empire quickly decayed. Two or three hundred years after the death of the Messiah, Egypt and Palestine were filled with monks. About the year 700 of the Christian æra, a new religion appeared in the East, with Mahomet; and Christianity turned again into Europe, in order to settle itself there. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there arose swarms of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Christ, the books of David and those of the Sybil announced

nounced the downfall of the world, a deluge, or rather an universal conflagration and general judgment of mankind; and all the world, oppressed by the dominion of the Romans, wished for and believed in a general dissolution. A thousand years after the Christian æra, the books of David and those of the Sybil still announced the last judgment: And several penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their sins, sold all their possessions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their Redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government, wished for, and still believed in the end of the world.

While one part of the Christian world, struck with terror, went to perish in the crusades, another part were burying themselves in cloysters. This was the origin of the monastic life in Europe. Opinion created monks; opinion will destroy them. Their property will remain behind them in society for the production of families: And all those hours that are lost in praying without devotion, will be dedicated to their primitive destination, which is labour. The clergy are to remember, that, in the sacred scriptures, God says to man in his state of innocence, "Increase and multiply:" To man in his estate of sin, "Labour and toil." If the duties of the priesthood seem to prohibit the priest from having the charge of a family, and of an estate; the duties of society more loudly proscribe their celibacy. If the monks of old times cleared the deserts they inhabited, they now contribute to depopulate the towns where they swarm: If the clergy have subsisted on the alms of the people, they, in their turn, reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle classes of society, the most prejudicial is that which, on its own principles, must lead men to idleness; which wastes at the altar as well the work of the bees, as the salary of the workmen; which burns in day-time the candles of the night, and makes men lose in the church that time they owe to the care of their families, which engages men to ask of Heaven the subsistence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

There is still another cause of the depopulation of some states, that intolerant spirit, which persecutes and proscribes

proscribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. It is a species of oppression and tyranny peculiar to modern politics, to extend its influence even over mens thoughts and consciences : It is a cruel kind of piety, which, for the sake of exterior forms of worship, derogates, in some measure, from the Deity himself, by destroying multitudes of his worshippers : It is an impiety still more barbarous, that, for matters so indifferent as religious ceremonies must appear, defeats a thing so essential as the life of man and the population of states ought to be. For neither the number nor the allegiance of subjects is increased by exacting oaths contrary to their consciences ; by forcing into secret perjury those who are engaged in the marriage-ties, or in the different professions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally established by conviction. As soon as that ceases, one way to set mens minds at rest, is to leave them at liberty. When conviction is equal, complete, and entire, with regard to every citizen, it can never give any disturbance to the peace of families.

Next to the celibacy among the ecclesiastics and that among the military, the one from profession, the other from custom, there is a third, of convenience, introduced by luxury ; I mean that of life-annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of causes. At the same time that commerce favours population through industry by land and sea, by means of all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the several arts of cultivation and manufactures, it lessens that same population by means of all the vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained the ascendent over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The arts and the talents of pleasing corrupt while they polish society. When the intercourse between the sexes becomes frequent, they mutually seduce one another, and the weaker leads away the stronger in the frivolous turn for dress and amusement. The women become childish, and the men effeminate. They talk of nothing but of entertainment, and their sole occupation is amusement. The manly and robust exercises, which disciplined the youth, and trained them for

the important and hazardous professions, give place to the love of public shews, where every passion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, and not the least symptom of patriotism appears. Idleness gains among the ranks who have no occasion to work, and, among those who should, less business is done. The improvement of arts multiplies fashions; fashions increase our expences; articles of luxury become wants; superfluity takes place of necessity; people dress better, but do not live so well; and they purchase clothes at the expence of the necessaries of life. The lower class of men are debauched before they feel the influence of love, and, by marrying later, their children are less numerous, and not so strong. The tradesman looks out for a fortune, not for a wife, and loses both by the effects of his early libertinism. The rich, married or not, go on continually seducing women of every condition, or debauching innocent girls. The difficulty of supporting the charges of marriage, and the readiness of finding the joys of it, without bearing any of its inconveniencies, tends to increase the number of unmarried people in every class. The man, who gives up being the father of a family, spends his patrimony, and, in concert with the state which doubles his yearly income, by borrowing of him at a ruinous interest, he melts several generations into one: He extinguishes posterity as much in the married women, by whom he is rewarded, as in the girls whom he hires. Every kind of prostitution is drawn on at once. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

A nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertinism, is not long before it is defeated abroad, as well as subdued at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the peoples rights; for every where division and self-interest prevail. No one wishes to be ruined alone. The love of riches being the only allurements, the honest man is apprehensive of losing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making one: The one retires, the other sets himself up to sale, and the state is ruined. Such is infallibly the progress of commerce

commerce under a monarchy. What its effects are in a republic, we learn from ancient history. But still it is necessary at this time to lead men to commerce; because the present situation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itself is favourable to population.

But it will be asked, Whether a great degree of population contributes to promote the happiness of mankind? This is an idle question. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is sufficient to make them happy, that they should multiply. All the means which tend to the prosperity of any state, of themselves promote the propagation of its people. A legislator, who should desire people only to have soldiers and subjects, only for the purpose of subduing his neighbours, would be a monster, and an enemy to the human race, since he would create merely with a view to destroy. But a legislator who, like Solon, should form a republic, whose multitudes might go and peopple the desert coasts of the sea; or who, like Penn, should make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and prohibit war, such a legislator would undoubtedly be considered as a God on earth. Even though his name should not be immortalized, he would live happy, and die contented, especially if he could be certain of leaving behind him laws of such wisdom as to free his people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of one part of our property for the preservation of the other. From hence it follows, that there should be no taxes, either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: For the former have no longer any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any. *Taxes.*

But, when a nation enjoys large and valuable property; when its fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to require expences of government; when its possessions, trade, and wealth, are capable of tempting the avarice of its poor or ambitious neighbours; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a necessity for forces, and for a revenue. It is but

just and reasonable that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the confederate society.

There have been countries, and times, in which a portion of the territory has been assigned for the public expences of the body of the state. The government not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to entrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniencies. Either the royal domains were too considerable in time of peace, or were insufficient in time of war. In the first instance, the liberty of the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and, in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

These funds were, in early times, not considerable. The tribute consisted merely in a reimbursement given by the public to those persons whom public concerns diverted from the employments and cares essential to their subsistence. Their reward was found in that delicious enjoyment we experience in the inward feelings of our own virtue, and upon a view of the respect paid to it by other men. These moral riches were the greatest treasures of rising societies; they were a kind of coin which it equally concerned the order of government, and of morality, not to deface.

Honour held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot who served his country did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost laid on by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those very persons who were to contribute, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

The Romans proceeded to dominion almost without any assistance from the public stock. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conquest of the world. The public service was carried on without any interested

interested views, even after their manners had been corrupted.

Under the feudal government, there were no taxes; for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

When light began to dawn in Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own security. They voluntarily furnished contributions to repress foreign and domestic enemies. But those tributes were moderate; because princes were not yet absolute enough to divert them to the purposes of their own capricious humours, or to the gratification of their ambition.

The new world was discovered, and the passion for conquest seized upon every nation. That spirit of aggrandizement was not to be reconciled with the slowness of popular assemblies; and sovereigns, without much trouble, contrived to appropriate to themselves more rights than they had ever formerly enjoyed. The imposition of taxes was the most important of their usurpations; and it is that whose consequences have been the most pernicious.

Princes have ventured even to stamp the marks of servitude upon the brows of the people, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it brings along with it, can any thing be more arbitrary than such a tax?

Are taxes to be levied by voluntary declarations? But this would require between the monarch and his subjects a moral conscience, which should unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at least, a public conscience to inspire the one with confidence in the other, by a sincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their sentiments. Even then, how is this public conscience to be settled, which is to serve as a torch, a guide, and a rein to determine and regulate the operations of government?

Is the sanctuary of families, or the closet of the citizen, to be invaded, in order to gain by surprise, and bring to light what he does not chuse to reveal, or what is often of importance to him not to discover. What an inquisition! What an illegal violence! Though we should

should even arrive at the knowledge of the resources of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of industry? Are they not lessened by the increase of children, by the decay of strength, by sickness, by age, and by laborious occupations? Do not the very faculties of the human species, that are of use and promote labour, change with those vicissitudes produced by time in all things that depend on nature and fortune? A personal tax is, therefore, vexatious to the individual, without being a common benefit. A poll-tax is a sort of slavery, oppressive to the man, without being profitable to the state.

After having suffered this tax, which is a proof of despotism, or which leads to it sooner or later, imposts were then laid upon articles of consumption. Sovereigns have affected to consider this new tribute as in some measure voluntary; because it rises in proportion to the expences of the subject, which he is at liberty to increase or diminish according to his inclination or abilities, which are for the most part factitious.

But, if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate necessity, it is the height of cruelty. Previous to all the laws of society, man had a right to subsist. And is he to lose that right by the establishment of laws? To sell the productions of the earth to the people at a dear rate, is a public robbery: It is to attack the very principle of their existence, to wrest from them by a tax, the natural means of preserving it. By taxing the subsistence of the needy, the state takes from him his strength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a state of beggary, and the working man to that of idleness: It makes the unfortunate man a rogue; that is, it brings the hungry man to the gallows through excess of misery.

If the taxes affect commodities less necessary, how many hands lost to tillage and the arts are employed, not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of unimportant barriers; in embarrassing the gates of towns; infesting the highways and roads of commerce; and searching into cellars, granaries, and storehouses! What

a state of war between prince and people, between subject and subject! How many prisons, gallies, and gibbets for a swarm of wretches who have been urged on to fraud, to smuggling, and even to piracy, by the iniquity of the revenue-laws!

The avarice of sovereigns has extended from the articles of consumption to those of traffic carried on between one state and another. Insatiable tyrants! Will you never understand, that, if you lay duties on what you offer to the stranger, he will buy it at a cheaper rate, and that he will only give the price demanded by other states? If even your own subjects were the sole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they still would never be brought to consent to such a law; for, in that case, the demand would be less, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a vent for it.

The duty on merchandise which your government receives from its neighbours, does not stand on a more reasonable footing. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by your subjects alone. Possibly, the raising the price of foreign produce may diminish the consumption of it; but if a less quantity of merchandise is sold to you, a less quantity will be purchased of you. Trade yields but in proportion to what it receives. It is in fact nothing more than an exchange of value for value. It is not possible then for you to oppose the current of these exchanges, without lowering the value of your own productions, by checking the sale of them.

Whether you lay duties on your own or on foreign merchandise, the industry of your subjects will necessarily suffer; the means of payment will be fewer, and they will have less raw materials to work up. The greater the diminution there is on the annual reproduction, the more the sum total of labour will also be decreased. All the laws, then, you can make against beggars, will be ineffectual; for man must live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

What then is the mode of taxation most proper to conciliate the public interest with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impost, with respect to
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the person upon whom it is charged, is an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be assessed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can discharge an annual expence. Now, there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which replaces yearly what has been advanced upon it, and leaves an overplus to our disposal. It is some time since we have begun to be sensible of this important truth. Some men of sound understanding will one day reduce it to a demonstration; and the first government that makes this the foundation of their system, will necessarily be raised to a degree of prosperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

Perhaps, there is no state in Europe at present whose situation would admit of so great a change. The taxes are every where so heavy, the expences so multiplied, and the wants so pressing; the public stock is so much indebted every where, that a sudden revolution in the raising of the public revenues would infallibly alter the confidence and disturb the peace of the subject. But an enlightened and provident policy will tend by slow and gradual steps, towards an end so salutary. With courage and prudence she will remove every obstacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private interest, might oppose to a system of administration, the advantages of which appear to us inestimable.

That nothing may lessen the benefits of this happy innovation, it will be necessary that all lands, without distinction, should be subjected to taxation. The public weal is a treasure in common, wherein every individual should deposit his tribute, his service, and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their possessions. It would be the height of meanness and folly to avail ourselves of distinctions received from our ancestors, in order to withdraw ourselves from the burdens of society. Every pre-eminence, not turned to the general advantage, would be productive of bad consequences; it cannot be equitable but in as far as it forms a settled engagement to devote, in a more especial manner, our lives and fortunes to the service of our country.

If in our days the tax were first laid on the land, would

would it not necessarily be supposed that the contribution should be proportioned to the extent and fertility of the estates? Would any one dare to alledge his employments, his services, his dignities, in order to screen himself from the tributes exacted by the public weal? What connection have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They are concerned only with revenue; and revenue belongs to the state, so soon as it becomes necessary for the public defence.

It is not, however, sufficient that the impost be portioned out with equity; it is further necessary that it be proportioned to the wants of the government, which are not always the same. War hath ever required, in all places and in all ages, more considerable expences than peace. The ancients made a provision for them by their œconomy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation and the principles of industry have been better understood, the method of laying up currency in this way has been proscribed. The resource of laying on extraordinary taxes has been with reason, preferred. Every state that should prohibit them would find itself obliged, in order to retard its fall, to have recourse to the methods in use at Constantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is constrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his subjects.

That taxes may not be exorbitant, they should be ordered, regulated, and administered by the representatives of the people. The imposts have always depended on property. He that is not master of the produce, is not master of the field. Thus it is, that, among all nations, tributes have never been at first laid on the proprietors but by themselves, whether the lands were parcelled out among the conquerors, whether the clergy shared them with the nobles, or whether they passed by means of commerce and industry into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where the proprietors of the lands had reserved the natural, unalienable, and sacred right, of not being taxed without their own consent. If we remove this principle, there

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is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a despotic master, and a herd of slaves.

Ye people, whose kings order every thing they please, read over again your own history. Ye will see that your ancestors assembled themselves and deliberated, whenever a subsidy was in agitation. If the custom of doing this is obsolete, the right is not lost; it is recorded in Heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to possess it: It is written on the field you have taken the pains to inclose, in order to insure yourselves the enjoyment of it: It is written in your hearts, where the Divinity has impressed the love of liberty. That head raised upwards towards heaven is not made in the image of the Creator to bow before man. No man is greater than another, but by the choice and consent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatness is in your lands, and not at the feet of your master. Be less ambitious, and you will be richer. Do justice to your vassals, and you will augment your fortunes by increasing the mass of common happiness. What is it you gain by raising the edifice of despotism beneath the ruins of every degree of liberty, virtue, sentiment, and property? Be persuaded it will crush you all. Around that formidable Colossus you are no more than figures in bronze, representing the nations chained at the feet of a statue.

If the right of laying on taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be his interest to overcharge and oppress his people, yet they will be overcharged and oppressed. The caprices, profusions, and enterprizes of the sovereign will no longer know any bounds, when they meet with no obstacles. A false and cruel system of politics will soon persuade him, that rich subjects will always become insolent, that they must be ruined, in order to be kept in subjection, and that poverty is the firmest rampart of the throne. He will go so far as to believe, that every thing is at his disposal, that nothing belongs to his subjects, and that he does them a favour by every thing he leaves them.

The government will seize upon all the avenues and outlets of industry, to fleece it, as well in its entry as its outgoing, and exhaust it in its course. Commerce will

will obtain circulation only by the interposition and for the benefit of the treasury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries, who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will serve and fight only for pay. The magistrate will give judgment only for the sake of his fees and his salary. Merchants will hoard up their fortunes, in order to transport them out of a land where there is no regard nor any security left for the country. The nation, being no longer of any consequence, will conceive an indifference for its kings; it will see its enemies only in those who are its masters; it will be induced to hope some time or other for an alleviation of its servitude in a change of its yoke; it will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and its tranquility from an entire overthrow of the state. After this, there is nothing more to be said: Let us now speak of a resource, which sovereigns turn to the ruin of their people, that is, public credit.

In general, what is called *public credit*, is nothing more than delay allowed for payment. Credit then supposes a double confidence; confidence in the person who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The first is the most necessary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is a knave, to break his engagements, though he has it in his power to fulfil them; and to dissipate his fortune by irregular conduct and extravagance. But the honest and prudent man, who has at the same time a proper understanding, may, by a variety of operations well managed, acquire or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

The chief end of commerce is consumption; but before commodities have reached the places where they are to be consumed, a considerable time often passes, and great expences must be incurred. If the merchant is compelled to make his purchases with ready money, commerce will necessarily languish. Those who are sellers, and those who must buy, will be equally sufferers by it. From these arrangements arises credit among individuals of one society, or even of several societies.

It differs from public credit, which is the credit of a whole nation considered as forming one single body.

Between public and private credit there is this difference, that gain is the object of the latter, and expence of the former. From hence it follows, that credit is gain to the merchant, because it furnishes him with the means of acquiring riches; and that, with regard to governments, it is one cause of impoverishing them, since it only supplies them with the power of ruining themselves. A state that borrows, alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital which it spends. It is then poorer after having borrowed, than it was before that destructive manœuvre.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of gold and silver, the governments of ancient times were not acquainted with the use of public credit, even in the periods of the most fatal and critical events. They formed during peace a stock that was made use of as a resource in times of distress. Then money returning into circulation, excited industry, and alleviated, in some measure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the discovery of the new world has made bullion more common, those who have had the lead in governments, have generally engaged in enterprizes above the abilities of the people they governed, and have not scrupled to burden posterity with debts they have taken the liberty to contract. That system of oppression has been continued: It must bind successive generations, and be a load upon all nations and all ages.

Public credit, though ruinous to every state, is not equally so, to all. A nation that has several valuable productions of its own, whose entire revenue is free, which has always fulfilled its engagements, which has not the ambition of conquest, and which governs itself; such a nation will find money at an easier rate than a government, whose soil is not fertile, which is overloaded with debts, which engages in undertakings beyond its abilities, which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who, of course, imposes the law, will always proportion the terms to the risques he must run. Thus, a people, whose finances are in disorder, will soon fall into the

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utmost distress by public credit; but the government which is better administered, will also find its prosperity limited by it.

But, say some political arithmeticians, is it not beneficial to invite the money of other nations into the bosom of your country; and do not public stocks produce that important effect? Yes, we undoubtedly attract the money of strangers by these means; but it is in no other way than if we were to sell them one or more of the provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up to them the soil, than to cultivate it solely for their use.

But if the state borrowed only of its own subjects, would the national revenue be given up to foreigners? It certainly would not; but the state would impoverish several of its members, in order to enrich an individual. Must not taxes be increased in proportion to the interest that is to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? The proprietors of lands, the cultivators, every citizen, will they not all find themselves more burdened, than if all the money borrowed by the state had been demanded from them at once? Their situation is the same as if themselves had borrowed it, instead of making such savings in their ordinary expences as might enable them to supply an accidental charge.

But the paper currency which proceeds from the loans made to government, increases the mass of riches in circulation, gives a great compass to all business, and facilitates every operation. Infatuated men! Can you not perceive all the errors of your politics? Let your system be stretched to the utmost; let the state borrow all it can; load it with interest to be paid; and by these means reduce it to the necessity of forcing every tax; ye will soon find that, with all your riches in circulation, ye will have no more wealth springing up afresh from the purposes of consumption and your trade. Money, and the paper which represents it, do not circulate of themselves, nor without certain powers that put them in motion. All these different signs come into use only in proportion as sales and purchases are made. Cover all Europe, if you chuse, with gold; if there is no merchandise for traffic, that gold will lie

inactive. If you do but multiply the commercial effects, ye need pay no attention to their representations of wealth; mutual confidence and necessity will soon be enabled to establish them without your care. Above all things, you must be careful not to multiply them by such means as must necessarily diminish the mass of your growing produce.

But public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be discovered that this resource is in common to all nations? If it be a kind of high road for us to march up to the adversary, will it not equally serve them to come to us? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their respective wealths? And will they not be ruined, without having any other advantages over one another than those they were in possession of, independent of every loan? When I see monarchs and empires at war, and falling upon one another with violence in the midst of all their debts, their public funds, and their revenues already deeply mortgaged, it seems to me, says a philosophical writer, as if I saw men fighting with clubs in a potter's shop surrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be rashness to affirm, that, in no circumstance whatsoever, the public service will require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The scenes that affect the world are so various; governments are exposed to such strange revolutions; the field of events is so extensive; politics strike such surprising strokes, that it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee and calculate every circumstance. But, in this point, it is the common practice of governments which we are discussing, and not a particular situation, which, in all probability, may never present itself.

Every state which will not be diverted from the ruinous course of loans by such considerations as we have just been offering, will effect its own ruin. The facility of acquiring great sums of money at once, will put a government upon every kind of unjust, rash, and expensive undertaking; will make it mortgage the future for the present, and game with the present stock to acquire future supplies. One loan will bring on another; and,

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to accelerate the last, the interest will be more and more raised.

This disorder will cause the fruits of industry to pass into some idle hands. The ease of enjoyment, without doing any thing, will draw into the metropolis every person of fortune, and all vicious and intriguing men; together with a train of servants, borrowed from the plough; of young girls deprived of their innocence and of their rights of marriage; of subjects of both sexes devoted to luxury: All of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of effeminacy and voluptuousness.

The seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits without labour, every individual will engage in that species of employment which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land and merchants will all turn annuitants. Money is changed into state-paper; because the sign is more portable, less subject to alteration from time, and less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. Agriculture, trade, and industry, will suffer from the preference given to the representative paper above the real specie or commodity. As the state always makes a bad distribution of that which has been wrongfully acquired, in proportion as its debts accumulate, the taxes must be raised in order to pay the interest. Thus all the active and fruitful classes of society are stripped and exhausted by the idle and barren class of annuitants. The increase of taxes raises the price of commodities, and consequently that of industry. By these means, consumption is lessened; because exportation ceases as soon as merchandise is too dear to stand the competitions of other nations. Land and manufactures are equally affected.

The inability the state then finds to answer its engagements, forces it to extricate itself by a method the most destructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the sovereign, that is, bankruptcy. The necessity of this fatal crisis of empires, which oversets the fortunes of every one, will at length approach; a method that by violence despoils the creditors, after having

attracted.

attracted to itself every stock by usurious interest, and by edicts for loans, which disgrace the monarch by cruel failures after his most solemn engagements; forfeiting the oaths of the prince and the rights of his subjects; overturning without resource the surest basis of all government, public confidence.—Such is the end of loans; from whence we may judge of the principles on which they are founded.

Fine arts and Belles Lettres. AFTER having examined the basis and structure of every civilized society, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the building. These are the fine arts and belles lettres.

Two celebrated people raised themselves by works of genius to a height of reputation which will never end, and which will always reflect honour on the human species.

Christianity, after having demolished in Europe all the idols of Pagan antiquity, preserved some of the arts to serve as a support to the influence of persuasion, and to favour the preaching of the gospel. But, in the place of a religion embellished and enlivened with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it erected monuments of terror and sadness, conformable to the tragic events which signalized its birth and progress. The Gothic ages have left us some monuments, the boldness and majesty of which still strike the eye amidst the ruins of magnificence and taste. All of their temples were built in the shape of the cross, covered with the cross, filled with crucifixes, decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with scaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

What became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual spectacles of blood, death, and future punishments? They became as hideous as their models, barbarous as the princes and pontiffs that employed them, mean and base as the adorers of their works; they frightened children in their very cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perspective of dreadful shades; they

they spread melancholy over the whole face of the land.

At length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy. The fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained commerce between Asia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople; and the very same Huns, under the name of Turks, drove them back again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

Walls, columns, statues, vases, were drawn forth from the dust of ages, and the ruins of Italy, for models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design, raised three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, sculpture, and painting. Architecture, in which convenience of itself regulated those proportions of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure to the eye; sculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the instances of mutual love. Italy alone had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices, than all the rest of Europe put together. Rome, Florence, and Venice, bred three schools of original painters: So nearly is genius connected with the imagination, and imagination with the climate. Had Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the produce of Asia, how much would the arts have been enriched by the discovery of both the Indies?

That country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and afterwards in artists, beheld literature, which is the inseparable companion of the arts, flourish a second time. They had been stifled by a constant series of barbarous Latinity, corrupted and disfigured by religion.—A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philosophy, and Hebrew poetry; such was the Latin language in the mouths of monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not understand.

The mythology of the Romans revived in literature the

the graces of antiquity. The spirit of imitation borrowed them at first without choice. Practice introduced taste in the employment of those rich treasures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, mixed its bold strokes, and its capricious flights, with the rules and modes of their old masters, even the fictions of fairy land with those of fable. The manners of the age, and the national character, gave their own tincture to the works of imagination. Petrarch had drawn that celestial virgin, Beauty, which served as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Ariosto confounded all kinds of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a poem. That author will stand single in the history of literature, like the enchanted palaces which he had constructed in the deserts.

Letters and arts, after crossing the sea, passed the Alps. In the same manner as the Crusades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. transported into France some principles of good literature. Francis I. if he had not been to dispute the Milanese with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: But these seeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were lost in the religious wars. They were collected, if I may be allowed the expression, in blood and carnage; and the time came when they were to spring up and bring forth fruit. The 16th century belonged to Italy, the succeeding one to France, which, by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of great men who flourished together under his reign, deserves to make an epocha in the history of the fine arts.

As in Italy, so in France, genius, at this period, seized at once upon all the powers of the human mind. It was displayed in marble, and on canvas, in public edifices and in gardens, as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to its influence, not only the ingenious mechanic arts, but those also which depend solely on the mind. Every thing bore the stamp of genius. The colours visible in nature animated the

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works of imagination; and the human passions enlivened the designs of the pencil. Man gave spirit to matter, and body to spirit. But let it be well observed, this happened at a time when a passion for glory warmed the nation, great and powerful as it was by its situation and the extent of its empire. The sense of honour, which raised it in its own estimation, and which then characterised it in the eyes of all Europe, was its soul, its instinct, and supplied the place of that liberty which had formerly created the arts of genius in the republics of Greece and Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and which had compelled them to push forth on the cold and foggy borders of the Thames.

What would not genius have done in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when it soared so high under the dominion of the most absolute of kings? When we see what energy patriotism has given to the British, in spite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced amongst the French, where a most mild temperature of season leads a people, naturally sensible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may judge what might have been done in a country, where, as of old in Greece, are found spirits warm and apt for invention; beneath a sun that enlivens them with its purest beams; nervous arms, in a climate where even the cold excites to labour; temperate provinces between north and south; sea ports seconded by navigable rivers; vast plains abounding in corn; hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all sorts; salt-pits which may be multiplied at pleasure; pastures covered with cattle; mountains clothed with the finest woods; a country every where peopled with laborious hands, which are the first resources for subsistence, the common materials for the arts, and the superfluities of luxury; in a word, the commerce of Athens, the industry of Corinth, the soldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all these advantages, which Greece once possessed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had she but had the same laws, the same exercise of reason and liberty, which gave rise to great men, and rulers of great nations.

Next

Next to the superiority of legislation, there has, perhaps, been nothing wanting among modern nations, in order to their being equal to the ancients in works of genius, except an improvement in language. The Italian, with sound, accent, and numbers, has assumed all the characteristics of poetry, and impressed all the charms of music. These two arts have consecrated it to the delightful province of harmony, as its softest mode of expression.

The French language holds the superiority in prose: if it is not the language of the gods, it is, at least, that of reason and truth. Prose especially speaks to reason in philosophy. It enlightens those minds privileged by nature, which seem placed between princes and their subjects to instruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres, to agitate vast assemblies of the people, a language which spreads itself in books, which is read in all countries, which serves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all sorts of ideas; a language ennobled, refined, softened, and, above all, fixed by the genius of writers, and the polish of courts, becomes at length universally prevailing.

The English language has likewise produced its poets, and its prose writers, that have gained it the character of energy and boldness, sufficient to make it immortal. May it be learned among all nations that aspire to be free. They will dare to think, act, and govern themselves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the English have none but such as are strong and forcible. They are the first who ever made use of the expression, *the majesty of the people*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language.

The Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither prose nor verse, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and sonorous as pure gold, its pace is grave and regular, like the dances of that nation: It is grand and decent, like the manners of ancient chivalry. That tongue will be able to maintain some dignity, and even acquire some superiority, whenever there shall be found in it many such writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy shall have silenced the in-

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quisition and its universities, that language will raise itself to great ideas, and to sublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural high spirit of the people who speak it.

Prior to all other living languages is the German; that mother-tongue, that original native language of Europe. From thence the English, and even the French, have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it seems hardly calculated to please the eye, and for polite organs, it has remained in the mouths of the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. A scarcity of writers seemed to shew that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry, and eloquence, were not destined to flourish. But, on a sudden, genius has exerted her powers; and originals, in more than one species of poetry, have appeared in pretty considerable numbers, sufficient to come into competition with other nations.

Languages could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, without the arts of every kind keeping pace with them; and indeed the monuments of these arts have multiplied so much throughout Europe, that the barbarism of succeeding people, and of ages to come, will find it difficult entirely to destroy them.

However, as the human species is merely a subject for fermentations and revolutions, there is only wanting some ardent genius, some enthusiast, to set the world again in flames. The people of the east, and of the north who are under despotic governments, are ready to spread their chains and their darkness over all Europe. Would not an irruption of Turks or Africans into Italy, be sufficient to overturn churches and palaces, to confound in one general ruin the idols of religion, and the master pieces of art? And, the more we are attached to these works of luxury, we should have the less spirit to defend them. A city, which has cost two centuries to decorate, is burnt and ravaged in a single day. Perhaps, with one stroke of his axe, a Tartar may dash in pieces the statue of Voltaire, which Pigalle was not able to finish in ten years. Yet we still persist in labouring for immortality. Vain atoms! constantly pressed forward by one another, into the obscure

scure origin from whence we spring. Ye nations, whether artisans or soldiers, what are ye in the hands of nature, but the sport of her laws, destined alternately to raise structures from the dust, and to reduce them back to their original state?

But it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his existence, and that he survives himself. Ignorant ages never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more traces of them after they are gone, than before they began to exist. There is no possibility of indicating the place or the time of their passage; nor can we engrave on the earth that nourished a barbarous nation, *This is the place where they dwell*; for they leave not even ruins to serve as records of their existence. Invention alone gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek characters indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the eloquence of Cicero above all sacred orators. The pontiffs themselves, softened and enlightened by the arts, and by being admirers and protectors of them, have assisted the human mind to break the chains of superstition. Commerce has hastened the progress of art, by means of luxury and wealth. Every effort of the mind and of the body has been united to embellish and improve the condition of the human species. Industry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the new world, have penetrated as far as the polar circle; and the fine arts are attempting to force nature even at Petersburg.

Philosophy. To the train of letters and of fine arts, philosophy is annexed, which, one would imagine, ought rather to have been their conductor; but, appearing later, she can only follow them as an attendant. From the necessities of mankind, the arts arise in the earliest state of the human mind. Letters are the flowers of its youth: Being children of the imagination, they are fond of ornament, and decorate every thing they approach; and this turn for embellishment produces what are properly called the fine arts, or the arts of luxury and decoration, which give the polish to the primary arts of necessity. It is then that
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the winged genii of sculpture flutter over the porticos of architecture ; it is then that the genii of painting enter palaces, represent the heavens upon a cieling, sketch out upon wool and silk all the animated scenes of rural life, and hold out to the mind, upon canvas, the useful truths of history, as well as the agreeable chimæras of fable,

When the mind has been exercised on the pleasures of the imagination and of the senses, and when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reason arises and bestows a certain gravity on nations ; this is the age of philosophy. She advances with slow steps, and proceeds silently along, announcing the decrepitude of empires, which she attempts in vain to support. It was philosophy that closed the latter ages of the fine republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philosophers till the eve of her ruin, which they seemed to foretell : Cicero and Lucretius had no sooner composed their books on the nature of the gods, and the system of the universe, than the din of civil wars arose, and dug the grave of liberty.

Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras, had, however, sown the seeds of philosophy in their theory concerning the elements of matter ; but the folly of making systems successively annihilated or absorbed every principle of genuine knowledge. At last Socrates appeared, and brought philosophy back to the principles of true wisdom, namely, virtue : It was that alone he loved, practised, and taught ; persuaded that man has no need of science, but of morals, to be happy. Plato, his disciple, though skilled in physics, and instructed in the mysteries of nature by travelling into Egypt, ascribed every thing to the soul, and hardly any thing to nature, and thus overwhelmed philosophy with theological jargon, and the knowledge of the universe with the ideas of divine power. Aristotle, Plato's disciple, discoursed less of God than of man and the animal creation. His natural history has been transmitted to posterity, though it was held in very little estimation by his contemporaries. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the same period, revived the atoms of Democritus, which doubtless balanced the four elements

of Aristotle; and in this equilibrium of systems, natural philosophy could not advance a single step. The people were led by the moralists, because they understood their writings better than lectures on the powers and phænomena of nature. They formed their schools; for no sooner do opinions gain reputation, than parties are formed to support them.

In these circumstances, Greece, agitated by intestine commotions, after having been torn with a civil war, was subjected by Macedon, and swallowed up by Rome. Public calamities then turned the hearts and understandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus, who were originally naturalists, became, long after their death, the heads of two sects of moralists, who were more addicted to theology than physics, and to casuistry than philosophy; or it might rather be affirmed, that philosophy was given up and confined entirely to the sophists. The Romans, who took every thing from the Greeks, made no discoveries in the true field of philosophy. Among the ancients, philosophy made little progress, because it was entirely confined to metaphysics; among the moderns, its first steps have been more fortunate, because they were guided by the light of natural knowledge.

We must not reckon the interval of near a thousand years, during which period, philosophy, science, arts, and letters, slept in the grave with the Roman empire, among the ashes of ancient Italy, and the dust of cloisters. Asia preserved the monuments of it, without making any use of them; and Europe possessed some fragments, without knowing them. The Christian and Mohammedan worlds were both of them every where covered with the blood of nations: Ignorance alone triumphed under the standard of the cross or the crescent. Before these tremendous idols every knee was bent, every spirit trembled. Philosophy continued in a state of infancy, babbling only the names of God and of the soul: Her attention was solely occupied with matters of which she was for ever to remain ignorant. Time, argument, and all her application, were wasted on questions that were, at least, idle; questions, for the most part, void of sense, not to be defined, and not to be

be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal source of disputes, schisms, sects, hatred, persecution, and national as well as religious wars.

In the mean time the Arabs, after their conquests, carried away, as it were in triumph, the spoils of genius and of philosophy. Aristotle, saved out of the ruins of ancient Greece, fell into their hands. These destroyers of empires had some sciences of which they had been the first discoverers. Calculation was of their invention. Astronomy and geometry accompanied them along the coasts of Africa, which they laid waste, and peopled again. Medicine attended them every where. That science, which has no greater recommendation in its favour, than its affinity with chymistry and natural knowledge, rendered them as famous as astrology, another support of imposition. Avicenna and Averroes, physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, maintained the tradition of true science by translations and commenatries. It is not difficult to conceive what must have become of Aristotle, translated from Greek into Arabic, and from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wished to adapt the philosophy of paganism to the Jewish codes of Moses and of Jesus. This confusion of systems, of ideas, and of languages, stopped for a considerable time the progress of science. The divine overturned the materials furnished by the philosopher; and the philosopher sapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few stones from one, and much sand from the other, some miserable architects built up a strange Gothic monument, called the *Philosophy of the Schools*. Continually patched, propped, and plaistered, from one age to another, by Irish or Spanish metaphysicians, it supported itself till about the time of the discovery of the new world, which was destined to change the face of the old one.

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way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into subjection to Europe, he opened the avenues of true science by experimental philosophy. Thus philosophy issued out of the cloyster, where ignorance was destined for ever to remain. When Bocaccio had exposed the debauched lives of the regular and secular clergy, Galileo hazarded conjectures concerning the figure of the earth. Superstition was alarmed, and, with its clamours, sent forth its thunders: But philosophy tore off the mask from the monster, and rent the veil under which truth had been hid. The weakness and falsehood of popular opinions were perceived, on which the basis of the social edifice was supported; but, to drive error from her tribunal, it was necessary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and with the causes of those various phenomena she exhibits to the views of men. This was the genuine object of philosophy.

As soon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the force of reason, conjectured that the sun was in the center of the planetary system, Galileo arose, and confirmed, by the invention of the telescope, the true system of astronomy, which either had been unknown, or had been buried in oblivion since the days of Pythagoras, who is said to have first conceived the idea of it. While Gassendi was putting the elements of ancient philosophy, or the atoms of Epicurus, into motion, Descartes agitated and combined the elements of a new philosophy, constructed upon his ingenious vortices of a subtle fluid. Much about the same time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the thermometer * for the weighing of air; Pascal measured the height of the atmosphere upon the mountains of Auvergne; and Boyle in England verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

Descartes had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind, previous to instruction. His me-

“ by only taking sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, which singly have
 “ no effect; but mixed together, and confined in a close place,
 “ cause a noise and explosion greater than that of a clap of thun-
 “ der.”

* The author should have said the *barometer*. T.

thodical

thodical doubt was the grand instrument of science; and the most signal service that could be rendered to the human mind, under the darkness which surrounded it, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the best authorised by the sanction of time and of compulsion, has made us sensible of the importance of doubting.

Chancellor Bacon, a philosopher, but unsuccessful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyster, like him, the harbinger rather than the legislator of the new philosophy, had protested against the prejudice of the senses and of the schools, as well as against those phantoms he stiled the idols of the understanding. He had foretold truths he could not discover. In conformity to his oracular presages, while experimental philosophy was discovering facts, rational philosophy was in search of causes. Both contributed to the study of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which raised in Newton suspicions of the true system of the world. Upon turning his eyes up to the heavens, by his observations on the fall of bodies to the earth, he saw there might be among the motions of the heavenly bodies some relations which implied an universal principle, differing from impulsion, the only visible cause of all their movements. By the study of optics after astronomy, he formed conjectures concerning the origin of light; and the experiments to which he was led on by these conjectures, changed it into system.

At the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were hardly born, who were to finish, correct, and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone contributed greatly to the quickness and rapidity of its progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul as far as reason could reach; and the inutility of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with respect to those false metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and the mathematics much farther than the genius of many ages

had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time, Locke pursued scientific prejudices, even into the intrenchments of the schools: He dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination which Mallebranche suffered to spring up, after he had humbled them, because he did not go to the root of the hydra's head.

But we are not to suppose philosophers alone have discovered and imagined every thing. It is the course of events which has given a certain bent to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral causes, a gradual improvement in politics, joined to the progress of study and of the sciences, a combination of circumstances which it was as impossible to hasten as to foresee, must have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the understandings of men. Among nations, as among individuals, the body and soul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philosophers, and philosophers are guides to the people. Galileo had asserted, that, as the earth turned round the sun, there must be antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church stiled itself universal, and the Pope called himself master of the earth; and yet more than two-thirds of its inhabitants did not so much as know there was any Catholic religion, and were particularly ignorant of the existence of a Pope, or mental tyrant. Europeans, who travelled and trafficked every where, have taught Europe, that one portion of the globe lived under the visions of Mohammed, and a still larger one in the darkness of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and apathy of atheism. Thus philosophy extended the empire of human knowledge, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

Italy, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who by their rivalry were to extend their greatness, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: Two academies from whence all the learned of Europe draw their information,

tion, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysteries of nature, experiments, phenomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea-water fit to be drunk, for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain with less seed and less labour.

The doctrine of Aristotle had prevailed during ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the Christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his example. They had even gone astray, for a long time, by attending on that philosopher, because they walked involved in the darkness of theology. But at last Descartes gave the thread, and Newton the wings for getting out of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated prejudices, and the method of analysis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo, and Descartes, Locke and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence, and Leipzig of Paris and London, there still remained a great work to be composed, in order to perpetuate the sciences and philosophy. This work has now appeared.

This book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have issued from the human mind, from the doctrines of theology to speculations on insects, every operation of the hands of men, from a ship to a pin; this repository of the intelligence of all nations, will, in future ages, characterize that of philosophy, which, after so many advantages derived to mankind, ought to be considered as a divinity on earth. It is she who binds, enlightens, aids, and comforts human beings. She bestows every thing upon them, without exacting any return. She demands of them, not the sacrifice of their passions, but a reasonable, useful, and moderate exercise of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, dispenser of her gifts, and interpreter of her rights, she consecrates her intelligence and her labour to the use

use of man. She makes him better, that he may be happier. She detests only tyranny and imposture; because they trample on the world. She does not desire to rule; but she exacts of such as do rule, that they covet no enjoyment but the public happiness. She avoids the noise and the name of sects; but she tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of seeing, and the latter of being seen. Ungrateful children, who rise up against a tender mother, when she wishes to cure them of their errors and vices which occasion the calamities of mankind.

Light, however, spreads insensibly over a more extensive horizon. A kind of empire is formed, that of literature, which begins and paves the way for the republic of Europe. In truth, if ever philosophy is enabled to insinuate itself into the minds of sovereigns or their ministers; the system of politics will be improved and rendered simple. Humanity will be more regarded in all their plans; the public good will enter into their negotiations, not merely as an expression, but as a matter of consequence even to kings.

Already has printing made such progress, that it can never be suppressed in any state, without lowering the people, by desiring to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the multitude, humanize the great, delight the leisure of the rich, and instruct all classes of society. The sciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of systematical persons are dissipated by the press; because reasoning and discussion try them by the test of truth.

An intercourse of knowledge is become necessary for industry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occasioned more attempts of that kind; for interest alone is not a sufficient stimulus to great enterprises. At present, nothing can be cultivated without some study, or without the knowledge handed down and diffused by reading. Princes themselves had not recovered their rights from the usurpations of the clergy, but by the assistance of that intelligence which has undecei-

ved.

ved the people with respect to the abuses of spiritual power.

But the greatest folly of the human mind is to employ all its powers, in order to raise the authority of kings, and to break all other chains for no other purpose but to forge out of them those of despotism. The same courage which inspires religion to extricate conscience from the tyranny exercised over opinion, ought to animate the man of integrity, the citizen, and the friend of the people, to relieve nations from the tyranny of those powers who conspire against the liberties of mankind. Unhappy is that state in which not one single defender of public right can be found; that kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens, must soon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that must save a nation from destruction; and freedom of writing is the only protection of the laws. But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? *Morality.*

THE books written on the subject of morality would fill many libraries. What a number of useless productions! They are, for the most part, the works of priests and their disciples, who, not chusing that religion should consider men only in the relations they stand to the Deity, found it necessary to substitute a different foundation for the relations they bear to one another. If morality be universal, it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. Morality has been the same in times past, and it will be still the same in future ages: It cannot, therefore, be founded on religious opinions, which have continually varied, ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other. The Greeks had vicious deities; the Romans had them likewise: The stupid worshippers of the Fetiche adore a devil rather than a God. Every nation made gods for themselves, and they fabricated them according to their fancies; some good, others cruel; some immoral, and others of austere manners. One would imagine, that every nation intended to deify their own passions and opinions. Notwithstanding these diversities

in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have agreed that men ought to be just; all nations have honoured as virtuous, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect, sincerity, gratitude, patriotism, all the feelings, in short, that tend to unite men more closely together. The origin of that uniformity of judgment, so constant, and so general, ought not, therefore, to be looked for in the midst of contradictory and fluctuating opinions. If the ministers of religion have appeared to think otherwise, it is because, by their systems, they obtained the power of regulating all the actions of mankind; they disposed of their fortunes, and of their wills; they secured to themselves, in the name of Heaven, the arbitrary government of the earth: But the veil is now removed.

Morality, before the tribunal of philosophy and reason, is a science, which has for its object the preservation and happiness of the human species. To this double end all its rules ought to tend. Their natural, constant, and eternal principle, exists in man himself, and in the resemblance of organization common to the species; a resemblance accompanied with a similarity of wants, of pleasures and pains, of force and weakness. This is the origin of the necessity of society, or of a common struggle against dangers equally incident to each individual, proceeding from nature herself, and threatening man on all sides. This is the source of particular ties and of domestic virtue; this the origin of general ties and public virtues, the source of personal and public utility, of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws.

Several writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence; because they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not discover there likewise hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and love of dominion? Why then have they founded morality on the former rather than the latter? It is because they found, that the former affections turned to the common advantage of society, and that the others were fatal to it. These philosophers have perceived the necessity of morality, and found out what it must be; but have not discovered its leading and
fundamental

fundamental principle. Indeed, the very sentiments they have adopted as the ground-work of morality, merely because they appeared to be serviceable to the general good, if left to their own operation, would be very prejudicial to mankind. How shall we punish the guilty, if we listened only to compassion? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship? How shall we avoid being indulgent to idleness, if we attended only to the feelings of benevolence? All these virtues have their limits, which if they exceed, they will degenerate into vices; and these limits are settled by the invariable laws of essential justice; or, which is the same thing, by the common interests of men united together in society, and the constant object of that union.

These limits, it is true, have not yet been ascertained. But how should they, since it has been impossible to fix what the common interest itself was? This is the reason why men, in all ages, have formed such different ideas of virtue and vice; why morality has hitherto appeared to be only a matter of mere convention among men. That so many ages have passed in profound ignorance of the first principles of a science so important to our happiness, is a certain fact; but the fact is so extraordinary, that it ought to appear incredible. It is inconceivable that we should not long since have discovered that, as the uniting of men into societies has no other aim but the common happiness of individuals, there is not, nor cannot be among them any other social tie than that of their common interest; and that nothing can be consistent with the order of societies, unless it be consistent with the common utility of the members who compose them. This is the only criterion of virtue and vice. Our actions are more or less virtuous, according as they tend more or less to the common advantage of society; and they are more or less vicious, in proportion to the prejudice society receives from them.

Is it on its own account that courage is ranked among the number of the virtues? No, it is on account of the service it does to society. The proof is, that courage is punished in a man who makes use of it to disturb the public peace. Why is drunkenness a vice? Because every

every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and because he cannot fulfil that obligation without having the free exercise of his faculties. Why are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate, or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconvenience results from them to society.

As society ought to benefit every one of its members, it is but just that each of its members should be useful to society. To be virtuous, therefore, is to be useful: To be vicious, is to be useless or hurtful. This is morality, universal morality—that morality which is congenial to the nature of man, and to the nature of society; that morality which can vary only in its applications, but never in its essence or its principles; that morality, in short, to which all laws should refer, and to which they should be subordinate. In conformity to this common regulation of all our private and public actions, let us see whether there ever have been, or ever can be, good morals in Europe.

Since the incursion of the barbarous nations into this part of the world, almost all governments have had no other basis than the interest of a single man, or a single set of men, to the prejudice of society in general. Founded on conquest, the effect of force, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of the people, who were devoted either to the sword of the master, or of the enemy. In the distribution and settlement of empires, how many ages were stained with the blood and carnage of nations, before terms of peace had consecrated and established that species of intestine war called society or government!

When the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it; when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, God had been associated with the sword, the morality of the gospel had no other effects than to harden tyranny by passive obedience, to rivet slavery by a contempt of science and the blessings of nature, and adding to the fear of the great, the terror of demons. With such laws, what were morals? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, without lands,
and

and without arms, are left to be cut in pieces by the Russians, or enlisted by the Prussians; and, having neither vigour nor sentiment, they think it is enough if they are Christians, and remain neuter between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To such a state of anarchy, where morals had neither any characteristic nor stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating the contagion of vice with that of fanaticism. Morals were changed by the change of climate. All the passions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jesus and Mohammed. From Palestine was imported a principle of luxury and pride, a strong taste for the spices of the east, a romantic spirit which civilized the nobles of all countries, without making the people more happy or more virtuous; for, if there is no happiness without virtue, virtue will never support itself unless it be rewarded with happiness.

About two centuries after the depopulation of Europe by Asiatic expeditions, the transigrations into America commenced. That revolution occasioned an universal confusion, and mixed the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither did morality acquire any improvement; because men were then destroyed through avarice, instead of being massacred on account of religion. Those nations which had made the largest acquisitions in the new world, seemed to collect at the same time all the stupidity, ferociousness, and ignorance of the old. They became the communicating channels of vices and diseases; they were poor and wretched in the midst of their riches; they were debauched, notwithstanding the number of their churches and of their priests; they were idle and superstitious, though they possessed all the sources of commerce, and means of knowledge. But the love of riches likewise corrupted all other nations.

Whether war or commerce introduce great wealth into a state, they soon become the object of public ambition. Men of power first seize upon them; and when riches come into the hands of those who are at the helm of affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the

minds of the people ; and the virtuous citizen, who aspired to employments only for the sake of glory, now aspires, without knowing it, to honour for the sake of advantage. Neither lands nor treasure, nor conquests, are gained but from a wish to enjoy them ; and riches are enjoyed only for pleasure and the ostentation of luxury. By this double use, they corrupt both the citizen who possesses them, and the people whose eyes they fascinate. As soon as men labour for money alone, and not from a regard to their duty, the most lucrative situations are preferred to the most honourable. It is then we see the honour of a profession diverted, obscured, and lost in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of a false estimation of riches, are to be added the natural conveniencies of opulence, which is a fresh source of corruption. The placeman wishes to collect people about him : The honours he receives in public are not sufficient for him ; he wants admirers, either of his talents, of his luxury, or of his profusion. If riches are the means of corruption, by leading to honours, they are still more hurtful, by diffusing a taste for pleasure. Poverty offers chastity to sale, and idleness its liberty ; the prince sells the magistracy ; and the magistrate sets a price upon justice : The court sells places, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sells them again to the neighbouring powers by treaties, subsidies, or exchange of territory.

Such is the sordid traffic introduced by the love of riches into any country where wealth can do every thing, and where virtue is held in no estimation. But there is no effect without its causes. Gold does not become the people's idol, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unless the bad constitution of the government induces that degree of corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government be so constituted that the temporary interest of an individual, or of a small number, can with impunity prevail over the common and inviolable interest of the whole. It will always occasion this corruption, if those, in whose hands authority is lodged, can make an arbitrary use of it, can place themselves above the reach of the laws, and can make their

their power administer to plunder, and their plunder to the continuance of abuses occasioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals; but good morals are established by good laws: Men are what government makes them. To modify them it is always armed with an irresistible force, that of public opinion: And the government will always become a corrupter, when, by its nature, it is itself corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals, when they have good governments. Let us conclude.

“ Nations! I have discoursed to you on your dearest interests. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature and the fruits of industry. As you are too frequently the occasion of one another’s misery, you must have felt how the jealousy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal the happiness that presents itself to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happiness you repel. The feelings of my heart have been warmly expressed in favour of all mankind, without distinction of sect or of country. Men are all equal in my sight, by the reciprocal relation of the same wants and the same calamities; as they are all equal in the eyes of the supreme Being by the relation of their weakness to his power.

“ I am aware, that subjected as ye are to rulers, your condition must depend on them, and that to speak of your evils is to reproach them with their errors or their crimes. This reflection has not prevented me from exerting myself. I never thought that the sacred respect due to humanity could possibly be irreconcilable with that regard which is due to those who should be its natural protectors. I have been transported in idea into the councils of the governing powers of the world. I have spoken without disguise, and without fear, and cannot reproach myself with having betrayed the honourable cause I have ventured to plead. I have told sovereigns what were their duties, and what were the people’s rights. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppression; and of that whose su-

“ pineness and feebleness allows it. I have sketched
“ all around them portraits of your misfortunes; and
“ their hearts cannot but have felt them. I have warn-
“ ed them, that, if they turned their eyes away, those
“ true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the
“ marble of their tombs, and accuse their ashes, while
“ posterity trampled on them.

“ But talents are not always equal to our zeal. Un-
“ doubtedly I have stood in need of a greater share of
“ that penetration which discovers expedients, and that
“ eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, per-
“ haps, my feelings have elevated my genius; but most
“ frequently have I perceived myself overwhelmed with
“ my subject, and with a consciousness of my own ina-
“ bility.

“ May writers, better favoured by nature, complete
“ what my essays have begun. Under the auspices of
“ philosophy, may the time come, when that chain of
“ union and benevolence which ought to connect all ci-
“ vilized people, will be extended from one extremity of
“ the globe to the other! May they never more carry
“ among savage nations the example of vice and op-
“ pression! I do not flatter myself that, at the period
“ of that happy revolution, my name will be still in re-
“ membrance. This feeble work, which will have but
“ the merit of having brought forth others better than
“ itself, will doubtless be forgotten. But I shall, at
“ least, be able to say, that I have contributed, as much
“ as was in my power, to the happiness of my fellow-
“ creatures, and pointed out the way, though at a di-
“ stance, for the bettering of their condition. This
“ agreeable thought will stand me in the stead of glory.
“ It will be the delight of my old age, and the conso-
“ lation of my latest moments.”

END OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
REVOLUTION
OF
AMERICA.

BY
THE ABBE' RAYNAL,
AUTHOR OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS
AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN
THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

A NEW TRANSLATION,
WITH NOTES.



NEW YORK

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THE ABBE KAYNALL

ALSO OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
AND OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
AND OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

A NEW PUBLICATION

WITH NO. 2

69

THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA

ENGLAND had just got disengaged from a long and bloody war, in which her fleets had displayed the banner of victory in every sea; in which a dominion, already too extensive, was augmented by an immense accession of territory in both the Indies. This splendid face of things might have the effect to impose on foreign powers; but the nation was reduced within itself to groan for its acquisitions and its triumphs. Overwhelmed with a debt of 3,330,000,000 livres *, which cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres †, she had scarcely sufficient for the most necessary expences with the 130 millions ‡ which remained to her of her revenue; and this revenue, so far from being capable of increase, had no certain and assured consistency.

*Distressed
state of
England
in 1763.*

The land remained loaded with a higher tax than it ever had been in time of peace. New taxes had been laid on houses and on windows. Hence arose a heavy charge on all real estate. Wine, plate, cards, dice, all that was regarded as an object of luxury, or amusement, paid more than could have been thought possible. To reimburse itself for the sacrifice made to the preservation of the public health, in the prohibition of spirituous liquors, the treasury had recourse to malt, cyder,

* 145,687,500 l. Sterling. † 4,881,515 l. 3s. 9 d. Sterling.
‡ 5,687,500 l. Sterling.

beer,

beer, and all the usual beverages of the people. Nothing was sent from the sea ports to foreign countries, or received from them, but what was burdened with heavy duties, both on the import and export. Raw materials and workmanship were risen to so high a price in Great-Britain, that her merchants found themselves supplanted in countries where they had never before experienced a competition. The profits of her commerce, with all parts of the globe, amounted not annually to above 56 millions *; and, from this balance in her favour, there must have been deducted 35 millions †, paid in interest to foreigners, on their capitals placed in her public funds.

The springs of the state were strained. All the muscles of the body-politic, experiencing at once a violent tension, were in some sort displaced. It was a critical moment. It was necessary to let the people breathe. They could not be relieved by a diminution of expence. That of the government was necessary, either to give value to conquests purchased at the price of so much treasure, at the price of so much blood; or to restrain the house of Bourbon, foured by the humiliations of the last war, and by the sacrifices of the last peace. In default of other means, to fix both the security of the present, and the prosperity of the future, an idea was formed of calling the colonies to the aid of the mother-country. This design was wise and just.

*England
calls her
Colonies
to her aid.*

THE members of a confederacy ought all, in proportion to the extent of their powers, to contribute to its defence and to its splendour, since it is by the public power alone that each class can preserve the entire and peaceable enjoyment of its particular possessions. The indigent man has, without doubt, less interest in it than the rich; but he has the interest of his quiet in the first instance; and, in the next, that of the preservation of the public wealth, which he is called upon to partake of by his industry. There is no principle of society more evident; and yet no fault in politics more

* 2,450,000 l. Sterling.

† 1,531,250 l. Sterling.

common

common than its infraction. Whence can arise this perpetual contradiction between the knowledge and the conduct of those who govern? From the vice of the legislative power, which exaggerates the maintenance of the public power, and usurps, for its fancies, a part of the funds destined to this maintenance. The gold of the trader, and of the husbandman, together with the subsistence of the poor, torn from them, in the name of the state, in their fields and their habitations, prostituted in courts to interest and to vice, and lavished away in pensions and useless places; these immense sums, which alone ought to be applied to the necessities of the state, and which go to swell the pomp of a set of men who flatter, hate, and corrupt their master, go ultimately into still viler hands, to pay the scandal and the ignominy of their pleasures. They are prodigally squandered in an idle shew of grandeur, the vain decoration of those who cannot attain to real grandeur, and in feasts and entertainments, the resource of impotent idleness, in the midst of the cares and labours which the right government of an empire would demand. A portion of it, it is true, is given to the public wants; but inattention, and incapacity, apply it without judgment, as without economy. Authority deceived, and which will not condescend even to make an effort at being undeceived, suffers an unjust distribution in the taxes, and a manner of gathering them which is itself but an additional oppression. Then is every patriotic sentiment extinguished. A war is established between the prince and his subjects. They who raise the revenues of the state appear to be no other than the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from taxation as he would defend it from invasion. Whatever cunning can purloin from power, seems lawful gain; and the subjects, corrupted by the government, make reprisals on the master by whom they are pillaged. They perceive not, that in this unequal combat, they are themselves dupes and victims. The insatiable and keen treasury, less satisfied with what is given, than irritated by what has been refused, reaches eagerly, with a hundred hands, after what one alone has dared to divert from its gripe. It joins the activity of power to that of interest. Oppres-

sions

sions are multiplied, under the specious name of *justice*; and the monster who beggars all those whom he torments, thanks Heaven devoutly for the number of the criminals who have been punished by him, and of the crimes by which he is enriched. Happy the sovereign who, for the prevention of so many abuses, would not disdain to render to his subjects a faithful account of the employment of the sums he might exact! But this sovereign has not yet appeared; and, without doubt, he never will appear. The debt, however, of the protected people, towards the protector-state, is not a less necessary and sacred obligation; and no nation has disowned it. The English colonies in North America had not given an example of it; nor did the British ministry ever have recourse to them without obtaining the succours they solicited.

But these succours were gifts, not taxes; since the concession of them was preceded by free and public deliberations in the assemblies of each establishment. The mother-country had found herself engaged in expensive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterprising parliaments had disturbed her tranquillity. She had fallen into the hands of ministers corrupt and bold; unhappily disposed to raise the authority of the throne upon the ruin of all the powers, and all the rights of the people. Even revolutions had taken place, before an attack upon a custom, established and strengthened by the happy experience of two ages, had ever once been dreamed of.

The colonies in the new world had been accustomed to regard this mode of furnishing their contingent, in men and money, as a right. Had even this pretension been doubtful, or erroneous, prudence would have forbidden its being too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate art, which requires more circumspection than is generally thought. They who govern are perhaps too much accustomed to hold men in contempt. They regard them too much as slaves, subdued and bent down by nature, whilst they are only so from habit. If you lay on them a new load, take care lest they shake it off with indignation and resentment. Forget not that the lever of power has no other fulcrum than opinion; that the power of those who govern

vern is, in reality, but the power of those who submit to be governed. Remind not people attentively occupied by their labours, or sleeping in their chains, to lift up their eyes to truths too terrible for you ; and whilst they are obeying, bring not to their remembrance their right to command. When the moment of this fearful rousing shall arrive ; when they shall have thought in earnest that they are not made for their rulers, but that their rulers are made for them ; when they shall once have been able to bring themselves together, to understand one another's sentiments, and to pronounce with one voice, *We will not have this law ; this practice is offensive ;* there is no medium ; you will be constrained, by an unavoidable alternative, either to punish or to yield ; either to be tyrannical or weak ; and your authority, henceforth detested or despised, whichever part it takes, will have no choice from the people, but either open insolence, or secret hatred.

The first duty, therefore, of a wise administration, is to manage the prevailing opinions in any country : for opinion is the property most dear to man, dearer even than his life, and consequently much dearer than his wealth. A wise administration may, without doubt, endeavour to rectify opinions by information, or to alter them by persuasion, if they tend to the diminution of the public power : but it is not permitted to thwart them without necessity ; and there never was any necessity for rejecting the system adopted by North America.

Indeed, whether the different settlements in this new world had been authorised, as they wished, to send representatives to parliament, where they might have deliberated with their fellow-citizens on the necessities of the British empire at large ; or, whether they had continued to examine within themselves what should be the contribution which it was right for them to make, no inconvenience could have resulted from it to the treasury. In the former case, the voice of their delegated claimants would have been drowned in that of the majority ; and these provinces would have found themselves legally loaded with such a portion of the burden as it should be wished to make them bear. In the latter, the
ministry,

ministry, continuing to dispose of the dignities, the employments, the pensions, and even of the elections*, would have experienced no more resistance to its will in that hemisphere than in this.

But the maxims consecrated by custom in America were not founded in prejudice alone. The pretensions of the colonists were supported by the nature of their charters, and still more strongly by that right of every English subject, not to be taxed without consent, expressed by himself or his representative. This right, which ought to be that of every people, since it is founded on the eternal law of reason, originated so far back as the reign of the first Edward. From that epoch the English have never lost sight of it. In peace, in war, under weak or wicked kings, in slavish as well as tumultuous times, it has been their unremitted claim. Under the Tudors, Englishmen have been seen to give up some of their most precious privileges, and, unresistingly, to submit their neck to the axe of tyrants; but never to renounce the right of self-taxation. It was in the defence of it that they have shed rivers of blood, that they have punished or dethroned their kings. In short, at the Revolution in 1688, this right was solemnly acknowledged by the celebrated act, in which liberty was seen to trace, with the same hand with which it had driven out the royal despot, the conditions of the contract between a nation and the sovereign it had newly chosen. This prerogative of a people, much more sacred, without all question, than so many imaginary rights which superstition would sanctify in tyrants, was, with regard to England, at once both the instrument and the rampart of her liberty. She thought, she felt, that it was the only barrier which could for ever limit

* "In either hemisphere, the liberty of the subject is gone, when a minister can influence the votes of a free people. When the *legislative* body become corrupt," says Montesquieu, "the liberty of a free nation expires." "It is less dangerous," adds Lord Bolingbroke, "to liberty, to see a *standing army* of red and blue, *without* the walls of parliament, than to see a *veteran band* of corrupted members enlisted in the service of the minister." Nothing can cure this evil, but the honesty and independence of the people. T.

despotism

despotism; that the moment a people is stripped of this privilege, it is condemned to oppression; and that the funds, raised in appearance for its security, are sooner or later subservient to its ruin. The English, in founding their colonies, had carried with them these principles beyond the seas; and the same ideas had been transmitted to their progeny.

If in the countries even of Europe, in which slavery seems long since to have taken its seat in the midst of vices, of riches, and of arts; in which the despotism of armies supports the despotism of courts; in which man, chained from his cradle, and fast bound with the twofold cords, both of policy and superstition, has never breathed the air of liberty; if in these countries, notwithstanding, they who have once in their lives reflected on the fate of nations, cannot forbear adopting the maxims, and envying the happy people who knew how to make it the ground-work and basis of their constitution; how much more ought the English natives of America to be attached to this glorious birth-right they inherit from their fathers! They know the price at which their ancestors had bought it. The very soil which they inhabit cannot fail to produce in them sentiments favourable to these ideas. Dispersed throughout an immense continent; free as wild nature which surrounds them; amidst their rocks, their mountains, the vast plains of their deserts; on the confines of those forests, in which all is still in its savage state, and where there are no traces of either the slavery or the tyranny of man, they seem to receive from every natural object a lesson of liberty and independence. Besides, these people, almost wholly occupied in agriculture and commerce, in useful labours which elevate and fortify the soul, by inspiring simple manners, hitherto as far removed from riches as from poverty, cannot be yet corrupted either by the excess of luxury, or by the excess of want. It is in this state above all others, that the man who enjoys liberty is most capable to maintain it, and to shew himself jealous in the defence of an hereditary right, which seems to be the most certain security for all the rest. Such was the resolution of the Americans.

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her colonies
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WHETHER the British ministry were ignorant of these dispositions, or whether they hoped that their delegates would succeed in changing them, they laid hold of the moment of a glorious peace for exacting a forced contribution from the colonies. For war, and let it be well remarked, war, whether successful or unfortunate, serves always as a pretext for the usurpations of governments; as if it was the intention of the rulers of the different warring powers, not so much to vanquish their enemies, as to enslave their own subjects. The year 1764 saw the birth of the famous stamp-act, which forbid the admission in the courts of justice of any instrument which should not be written on paper marked and sold for the profit of the British treasury.

The whole English provinces of North America are inspired with indignation at this usurpation of their most precious and most sacred rights. By an unanimous agreement they renounce the consumption of whatever was furnished them by the mother-country, till it should withdraw this illegal and oppressive bill. Even the women, whose weakness might have been feared, are the most ardent to sacrifice the subserviencies of their dress and ornament; and the men, animated by this example, give up, on their part, other conveniences and enjoyments. Many husbandmen quit the plough, to form themselves to the industry of the workshop; and wool, flax, and cotton, coarsely wrought, are sold at the price which would before have purchased the finest cloths and the most beautiful stuffs.

This kind of conspiracy stuns the government. By the clamour of the merchants, whose wares have no vent, its inquietude is increased. The enemies of the ministry keep up these discontents; and the stamp-act is revoked, after two years of a convulsive agitation, which, in other times, would have kindled a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies is of short duration. The parliament, which had retreated but with extreme reluctance, ordains, in 1767, that the revenue which could not be obtained by means of stamps, should be raised by taxes on the glass, the lead, the pasteboard, the

the colours, the paper-hangings, and the tea, which are carried from England to America. The people of the northern continent are not less inimical to this innovation than the former. In vain are they told that no one could dispute the right of Great Britain to lay on her exportations the duties which her interest demands, since she denies not to her colonies, situated beyond the seas, the liberty of fabricating themselves the wares subjected to the new taxation. This subterfuge appears but as a derision to men, who being cultivators of land alone, and obliged to have no communication but with their mother country, cannot procure, either by their own industry, or by foreign connections, the objects which had recently been taxed. Whether this tribute be paid in the old or new world, they perceive that the word makes no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would not be less attacked by this mode, than by that which they had repelled with success. The colonists see clearly that the government wish to beguile them; and they will not be beguiled. These political sophisms appear to them, as they really are, the mask of tyranny.

Nations, in general, are made more for feeling than for thinking. The greatest part of them never had an idea of analysing the nature of the power by which they are governed. They obey without reflection, and because it has become habitual to them to obey. The origin and the object of the first national associations being unknown to them, all resistance to government appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in those states where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, that this blindness is to be met with. The habit of believing favours the habit of suffering. Man renounces not any one object with impunity. It seems as if nature would revenge herself upon him who dares thus to degrade her. The servile disposition which she stamps upon his soul, in consequence, extends itself throughout. It makes a duty of resignation as of meanness; and, kissing chains of all kinds with respect, trembles to examine either its doctrines or its laws. As a single extravagance in religious opinions is sufficient to make many more to be adopted by minds once deceived;

ved; in like manner, a first usurpation of government opens the door to all the rest. He who believes the greater, believes the less; he who can do the greater, can do the less. It is by this double abuse of credulity and authority that all the absurdities in matters of religion and policy have been introduced into the world, for the purpose of harrassing and crushing the human race. Thus, at the first signal of liberty among nations, they have been prompted to shake off both these yokes together; and the epoch in which the human mind began to discuss the abuses of the church and clergy, is that in which reason perceived at last the rights of men, and in which courage attempted to fet the first limits to despotic power. The principles of toleration and of liberty, established in the English colonies, had made them a different people from all others. There it was known what was the dignity of man; and when the British ministry violated it, it could not be otherwise but that a people, all composed of denizens, should rise against the wickedness of the attempt.

Three years elapsed, without a revenue from any one of the taxes which had so wounded the Americans to the quick. This was something; but it was not all to which men, jealous of their prerogatives, had pretensions. They insisted upon a general and formal renunciation of what had been so illegally ordained; and this satisfaction was given them in 1770. Tea only was excepted. But the sole object of this exception was to palliate the shame of entirely giving up the superiority of the mother-country over her colonies: for this duty was not more cogently exacted than the others had been.

After having given way, England would be obeyed by her colonies. Measures

THE Ministry, deceived by their delegates, believed undoubtedly that the disposition of the new world was altered, when, in 1773, they ordered the collection of the duty upon tea.

At this news the indignation becomes general in North America. In some provinces, formal thanks are agreed upon to be given to such masters of vessels as would

not

not suffer this production to make any part of their cargo. In others, the merchants to whom it is consigned refuse to receive it. Here, he is declared an enemy of his country who shall dare to vend it. There, they are stigmatized with the same reproach who shall keep it in their stores. Many provinces solemnly renounce the use of this elegant beverage. A still greater number burn what they had remaining of this leaf, till then the object of their delight. The tea sent to this part of the globe was valued at 5 or 6 millions; and not a single chest of it was landed. Boston was the principal theatre of this insurrection. Its inhabitants destroyed, in their very port, three cargoes of tea which arrived from Europe.

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sist her.*

This great town had always appeared to pay more attention to its rights than the rest of America. The least attempt that was made upon their privileges had been repelled openly and avowedly. This resistance, sometimes not unaccompanied by tumult, had for some years been tiresome to government. The ministry, who had a vengeance to wreak, seized too eagerly upon the circumstance of a blameable excess, and required the parliament to punish it severely.

Moderate men wished that the offending town might be sentenced only to an indemnification proportioned to the waste that had been made in its road, and to such amends as it ought to make for not having punished this act of violence. This sentence was thought too slight; and on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was passed for shutting up the port of Boston, and forbidding any thing to be landed or loaded at it.

The court of London applauded itself for so rigorous a law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Bostonians to that disposition to slavery which it had vainly laboured till then to bring upon them. If, contrary to all appearance, these sturdy men should persevere in their pretensions, their neighbours would be eager in profiting from the interdiction laid upon the principal harbour of the province. Supposing the worst, the other colonies, long since jealous of that of Massachusetts, would abandon it with indifference to its melancholy

fate,

fate, and gather up the immense trade which would flow in to them from its misfortunes. In this manner would be broken the union of these different establishments, which had, for some years past, acquired a greater degree of consistency than was pleasing to the mother country.

The expectation of the ministry was totally deceived. An act of rigour sometimes overawes. The people who have murmured as long as the thunder-storm growled only at a distance, when it comes to burst upon them, frequently submit. It is then that they weigh the advantages and disadvantages of resistance; that they contemplate their own strength and that of their oppressors; that a panic terror seizes those who have every thing to lose, but nothing to gain; that they lift up their voice, that they intimidate, that they corrupt; that division arises in the minds of men, and that the community is separated into two factions, which irritate each other, which come oftentimes to blows, and cut each other's throats under the eyes of their tyrants, who with a pleasing satisfaction behold their streaming blood. But tyrants seldom find accomplices but amongst a people already corrupted to their hands. It is vice which gives them allies amongst those whom they oppress. It is unmanly softness, which, filled with terrors, dares not barter its repose for honourable peril. It is the vile ambition to command, which lends its arm to despotic power, and consents to be a slave in order to domineer; to give up a people in order to partake their spoil; and to renounce real honour for the obtaining of titles, the nick-names of honour. It is, above all, the indifferent and cold personality, which is the last vice amongst a people, the last crime of governments, for it is ever the government which gives it birth; it is that, which from principle sacrifices a nation to a man, and the happiness of an age and of posterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. None of these vices, the production of a society opulent and voluptuous, of a society grown old and verging to its end, belong to a people newly established and occupied in useful labours. The Americans remained united. The execution of a bill, which they called inhuman, barbarous,

rous,

rous, and bloody, tended but to strengthen them in the resolution of maintaining their rights with the more accord and constancy.

At Boston, the acrid and ardent spirit is more and more exalted. The cry of religion adds force to that of liberty. The houses of worship re-echo with the most violent exhortations against England. It was without doubt an interesting spectacle for philosophy, to see that even in churches, at the foot of altars, where superstition has so often blessed the chains of nations, where priests have so often flattered tyrants, liberty lifted up her voice in defence of the privileges of an oppressed people; and if it can be imagined that the Deity vouchsafes to look down upon the unhappy wranglings of men, it was better pleased undoubtedly to see its sanctuary consecrated to this use, and hymns to liberty make a part of the worship by which it was addressed. These exhortations of the preachers must have had a great effect; for when once a free people invokes Heaven against oppression, it soon has recourse to arms.

The other inhabitants of the province of Massachusetts disdain the very idea of drawing the least advantage from the disasters of the capital. They think only of drawing closer the bonds which unite them with the Bostonians, disposed rather to seek a grave in the ruins of their common country, than to let the least assault be made on rights which they had learned to prize higher than their lives.

All the provinces attach themselves to the cause of Boston; and their affection encreases in proportion to the misfortunes and sufferings of this unhappy town. Nearly as culpable of a resistance so severely punished, they are well aware that the mother-country but defers her vengeance against them; and that all the grace with which the most favoured can be flattered, is to be the last on which the hand of oppression shall be doomed to fall.

These dispositions to a general insurrection are augmented by the act against Boston, which is seen circulating throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, emblematical of mourning for liberty departed. The disquietude soon communicates itself from house to house.

house. The inhabitants assemble and converse together in the public places; and writings, full of eloquence and vigour, are delivered every where from the press.

“ The severities of the British Parliament against Boston (say they in these writings) should cause all the American provinces to tremble. They have now nothing left them but to chuse between fire and sword and the horrors of death, or the yoke of disgraceful obedience. Behold the æra of an important revolution is at length arrived, the event of which, as it shall be happy or successful, will claim and fix for ever either the regret or admiration of posterity.

“ Shall we be freemen, or be slaves? On the solution of this grand problem is about to depend, for the present, the fate of three millions of men, and, for the future, the happiness or misery of their numberless descendents.

“ Rouse then, O Americans! Never did clouds so black hang over the region you inhabit. You are called rebels, because you will not be taxed but by your representatives. Vindicate this just pretension by your courage, or seal the loss of it with your blood.

“ You have no more time for deliberation. Whilst the hand of the oppressor labours incessantly to forge your chains, silence would be guilt; inaction, infamy. Let the preservation of the rights of the commonweal be your supreme law. That man would be the last of slaves, who, in the danger into which the liberty of America is fallen, would not exert every effort to preserve it.”

This disposition was the common one: but the important object, the difficult matter in the midst of a general tumult, was to contrive how to bring on a calm, by favour of which might be formed a concert of wills, to give dignity, strength, and consistency to their resolutions. It is this concert, which, of a multitude of scattered parts, and each easily to be broken, composes a whole that is not to be rendered manageable, unless it be divided by policy or by power. The necessity of this grand combination, or totality, was strikingly perceived by the provinces of New Hampshire, of
Massachusetts,

Massachusetts, of Rhode-Island, of Connecticut, of New York, of New Jersey, of the three Delaware counties, of Maryland, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and of both the Carolinas. These twelve colonies, which were afterwards joined by Georgia, sent deputies to Philadelphia, in the month of September 1774, charged with the defence of their rights and interests.

The disputes of the mother-country with her colonies, assume at this period an importance to which they had not been before entitled. It is no longer a few individuals who make an obstinate resistance to imperious masters. It is the struggle of one body of men against another; of the Congress of America against the Parliament of England; of a nation against a nation. By the resolutions taken on either side, minds are more and more enflamed. The ferment of animosity increases. All hope of reconciliation vanishes. On each side the sword is whetted. Great-Britain sends troops to the new world. This other hemisphere prepares for its defence. Its citizens become soldiers. The combustibles are collected, and the conflagration is about to blaze.

Gage, the commander of the royal troops, sends from Boston, in the night of the 18th of April, 1775, a detachment with orders to destroy a magazine of arms, and other military stores, collected by the Americans at Concord. This body of troops fall in at Lexington with some militia, whom they dispersed with little difficulty, continue their march rapidly, and execute the commission to which they had been appointed. But scarcely are they on their return towards the capital, but they find themselves assailed, for the space of fifteen miles, by a furious multitude, and death on each side is given and received. English blood, so often shed in Europe by English hands, irrigates America in its turn, and the civil war is commenced.

On the same field of battle, the following months, more regular combats are beheld. Warren becomes one of the victims of these murderous and unnatural actions. The Congress honour his ashes.

“He is not dead, (said the orator) this excellent citizen shall never die. His memory shall be for ever present, and for ever dear, to all good men, to all who love their country. In the short space of a life
“but

“ but of three and thirty years, he had displayed the
 “ talents of a statesman, the virtues of a senator, the
 “ soul of a hero.

“ Approach, all you whom the same interest ani-
 “ mates; approach your countryman’s still bleeding
 “ body. Wash with your tears his honourable wounds.
 “ But hang not too long over this inanimated corse.
 “ Return to your habitations to fill them with detesta-
 “ tion at the crime of tyranny. Let your horrible
 “ descriptions of it make each particular hair to stand
 “ on end upon your children’s heads, inflame their
 “ eyes with noble rage, stamp menaces on their brows,
 “ and draw, by their mouths, indignation from their
 “ hearts! Then, then, shall you give them arms;
 “ and your last, your fondest wish shall be, that they
 “ may return victorious, or may die like Warren.”

The disturbances by which the province of Massa-
 chuset was agitated, were repeated in the other pro-
 vinces. The scenes, indeed, were not bloody, because
 there were no British troops; but the Americans seize
 every where on the forts, the arms, and the military
 stores; they every where expel their governors, and the
 other agents of England; and every where harrass such
 of the inhabitants as appeared favourable to its cause.
 Some enterprizing men are even so bold as to take pos-
 session of the works formerly erected by the French up-
 on the lake Champlain, between New-England and
 Canada, and to make an irruption into this vast region.

Whilst simple individuals, or detached districts, are
 thus usefully serving the common cause, the Congress
 is employed in assembling an army. The command of
 it is given to George Washington, a native of Virginia,
 and known by some happy exploits in former wars.
 Instantly the new general flies to the province of Massa-
 chuset, drives the royalists from post to post, and obli-
 ges them to shut themselves up in Boston. Six thou-
 sand of these veteran soldiers, escaped from the sword,
 from sickness, from all the miseries incident to their
 profession, and pressed by hunger, or by the enemy,
 embark the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation
 which partakes of flight. They go to seek an asylum

in

in Nova Scotia, which remained, as well as Florida*, faithful to its ancient masters.

THIS success was the first step of English America towards a revolution. It was begun to be openly desired. The principles which justified it were dispersed on all sides. These principles, which were indebted for their birth to Europe, and particularly to England, had been transplanted into America by philosophy. The knowledge, and the discoveries of the mother-country were turned against

The colonies were in the right to separate themselves from their mother-country, independently of all discontent.

herself, and she was told that care must be taken not to confound together society and government. In order to know them distinctly, their origin should be considered.

Man, thrown, as it were, by chance upon this globe, surrounded by all the evils of nature; obliged incessantly to defend and protect his life against the storms and tempests of the air, against the inundations of water, against the fiery irruptions of volcanoes, against the intemperature of frigid or torrid zones, against the sterility of the earth, which refuses him aliment, or its baneful fecundity which makes poisons spring up beneath his feet; in short, against the claws and teeth of savage beasts, who dispute with him his habitation and his prey, and, attacking his person, seem resolved to render themselves rulers of this globe, of which he thinks himself to be the master; man in this state, alone and abandoned to himself, could do nothing for his preservation. It was necessary, therefore, that he should unite himself, and associate with his like, in order to bring together their strength and intelligence into a common stock. It is by this union that he has triumphed over so many evils, that he has fashioned this globe to his use, restrained the rivers, subjugated the seas, insured his subsistence, conquered a part of the animals in obliging them to serve him, and driven others far from his empire, to the recesses of deserts or of woods, where their number diminishes from age to age. What a man alone would not have been able to

* Canada likewise retained its attachment.

effect,

effect, men have executed in concert ; [and with one accord they preserve their work. Such is the origin, such the advantage and the end of all society.

Government owes its birth to the necessity of preventing and repressing the injuries which the associated individuals had to fear from one another. It is the sentinel who watches, in order that the common labours be not disturbed.

Thus society originates in the wants of men, government in their vices. Society tends always to good ; government ought always to tend to the repressing of evil. Society is the first ; it is, in its origin, independent and free. Government was instituted for it, and is but its instrument. It is for the one to command ; it is for the other to obey. Society created the public power ; government, which has received it from society, ought to consecrate it entirely to its use. In short, society is essentially good ; government, as is well known, may be, and is but too often evil.

It has been said, that we were all born equal ; that is not so :—that we had all the same rights ; I am ignorant of what are rights, where there is an inequality of talents, or of strength, and no security nor sanction :—that nature offered to us all the same dwelling, and the same resources ; that is not so :—that we were all endowed indiscriminately with the same means of defence ; that is not so : and I know not in what sense it can be true, that we all enjoy the same qualities of mind and body.

There is amongst men an original inequality for which there is no remedy. It must last for ever ; and all that can be obtained by the best legislation, is, not to destroy it, but to prevent the abuse of it.

But in making distinctions between her children like a step-mother, in creating some children strong and others weak, has not nature herself formed the germ or principle of tyranny ? I do not think it can be denied ; especially if we look back to a time anterior to all legislation, a time in which man will be seen as passionate and as void of reason as a brute.

What then have founders of nations, what have legislators proposed to themselves ? To obviate all the dis-

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fasters arising from this germ when it is expanded, by a sort of artificial equality, which might reduce all the members of a society, without distinction, under a sole impartial authority. It is a sword which moves gently, equably, and indifferently, over every head; but this sword was ideal. It was necessary that there should be a hand, a corporeal being who should hold it.

What has resulted thence? Why, that the history of civilized man is but the history of his misery. All the pages of it are stained with blood; some with the blood of the oppressors, others with the blood of the oppressed.

In this point of view, man appears more wicked and more miserable than a beast. Different species of beasts subsist on different species; but societies of men have never ceased to attack each other. Even in the same society there is no condition but devours and is devoured, whatever may have been or are the forms of the government, or artificial equality, which have been opposed to the primitive and natural inequality.

But are these forms of government, supposing them made by the choice, and the free choice, of the first settlers in a country, and whatever sanction they may have received, whether from oaths, or from unanimous consent, or from their duration, are they obligatory upon their descendants? There is no such thing: and it is impossible that you, Englishmen, who have successively undergone so many different revolutions in your political constitution, bandied about as you have been from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy; it is impossible that you, without accusing yourselves of rebellion and of perjury, can think otherwise than I do.

We examine things with a philosophic eye; and it is well known, that it is not the speculations of philosophers which bring on civil commotions. No subjects are more patient than we are. I proceed then in pursuit of my object, without any cause to fear that any bad consequences can follow from my reasoning.

If the people are happy under their form of government, they will continue under it. If they are unhappy,

py, it will not be either your opinions or mine ; it will be the impossibility of suffering more, and longer, which will determine them to change it ; a salutary impulse, which the oppressor will call revolt, though it be but the lawful exercise of a natural and unalienable right of the man who is oppressed, and even of the man who is not oppressed.

A man wills and chuses for himself. He cannot will nor chuse for another ; and it would be a madness to will and to chuse for him who is yet unborn, for him who will not yet exist for ages. There is no individual but who, discontented with the form of the government of his country, may go elsewhere to seek a better. There is no society which has not the same right to change, as their ancestors had to adopt, their form of government. Upon this point, it is with societies as if they were at the first moment of their civilization. Without this right there would be a great evil ; nay, the greatest of evils would be without a remedy. Millions of men would be condemned to perpetual misery. Conclude then with me,

That there is no form of government which has the prerogative to be immutable :

No political authority, which, created yesterday, or a thousand years ago, may not be abrogated in ten years time, or to-morrow :

No power, however respectable, however sacred, that is authorized to regard the state as its property.

To think otherwise, is to be a slave. It is to be an idolater of the work of one's own hands.

Whoever thinks otherwise is a madman, who devotes himself to eternal misery, who devotes to it his family, his children, and his children's children, in allowing to his ancestors the right of stipulating for him when he existed not, and in taking upon himself the right of stipulating for a progeny which does not yet exist.

All authority in this world has begun either by the consent of the subjects, or by the power of the master*.

* "Men," says Mr Locke, "being all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of his estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent. The

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In both the one and the other case, it may justly end. There is no prescription in favour of tyranny against liberty.

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"only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty, and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by *agreeing* with other men to join and unite in a community for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one among another in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it. This any number of men may do, because it injures not the freedom of the rest. They are left, as they were, in the liberty of a state of nature. When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and made one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act." 2 Treat. concerning Government, chap. viii. § 95.

"And thus, that which begins, and actually concludes any political society, is nothing but the consent of a number of free men, capable of a majority to unite and incorporate into such a society. And this is that, and that only, which did, or could, give beginning to any lawful government in the world." *Ib.* 98.

"It is true, that whatever engagements or promises any one has made for himself, he is under the obligation of them, but cannot by any compact whatever bind his children or posterity: for his son, when a man, being altogether as free as the father, any act of the father can no more give away the liberty of the son, than it can of any body else. He may indeed annex such conditions to the land he enjoyed, as a subject of any commonwealth, as may oblige his son to be of that community, if he will enjoy those possessions, which were his father's; because that estate being his father's property, he may dispose or settle it as he pleases." § 116.

"There is a common distinction of an *express* and a *tacit* consent; which will concern our present case, no body knows; but an express consent of any man, entering into any society, makes him a perfect member of that society, a subject of that government. The difficulty is, what ought to be looked upon as a *tacit consent*, and how far it binds; i. e. how far any one shall be looked on to have consented, and thereby submitted to any government, where he has made no expressions of it at all. And to this I say, that every man, that hath any possessions or enjoyment, of any part of the dominions of any government, doth thereby give his *tacit* consent, and is as far forth obliged to obedience to the laws of that government, during such enjoyment, as any one under it, whether this his possession be of land to him and his heirs for ever, or a lodging only for a week; or whether it be barely travelling freely on the high-way. And it, in effect, reaches as far as the very being of any one within the territories of that government." § 117.

The truth of these principles is so much the more essential, because that all power, by its very nature, tends to despotism, even in the most jealous nations, even in yours, ye Englishmen, yes, in yours.

I have heard it said by a whig, by a fanatic, if you will;—but words of great sense escapes sometimes from a madman;—I have heard it said by him, that so long

“Whoever, therefore, from henceforth by inheritance, purchase, permission, or otherwise, enjoys any part of the land so annexed to, and under the government of that commonwealth, must take it with the condition it is under; that is, of submitting to the government of the commonwealth, under whose jurisdiction it is, as far forth as any subject of it.” § 120.

“If a man in a state of nature, be so free as hath been said; if he be *absolute lord of his own person and possessions*, equal to the greatest, and *subject to no body*; why will he part with his freedom, why will he give up this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and controul of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others. For all being Kings, as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very insecure. This makes him willing to quit his condition, which, however free, is full of fears, and continual dangers.”

Chap. ix. § 123.

“The supreme power [the legislature] cannot [lawfully or rightly] take from *any man* any part of his property, without his own consent.” Chap. xi. § 130.

“It is true, governments cannot be supported without great charge; and it is fit every one who enjoys his share of the protection, should pay out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be with his own consent, *i. e.* with the consent of the *majority* giving it either by themselves, or by their representatives, *chosen* by them.” § 140.

“Whoever gets into the exercise of any part of the power [of governing] by other ways than what the laws of the community have prescribed, hath no right to be obeyed, though the form of the commonwealth be still preserved; since he is not the person the laws have appointed, and consequently not the person the people have consented to. Nor can such an usurper, or *any* deriving from him, ever have a title, till the people are both at liberty to consent, and have actually *consented* to allow, and confirm him in the power he hath till then *usurped*.” Chap. xvii. § 198.

as the power should be wanting of taking to Tyburn a bad king; or at least a bad minister, with as little formality, preparation, tumult, or surprize, as the obscurest malefactor is conducted thither, the nation would not have either that just idea, or that full enjoyment, of their rights, which became a people who dared to think, or to say, that they were free; and yet an administration, by your own acknowledgment, ignorant, corrupted, and audacious, precipitates you, with imperiousness and with impunity, into the lowest abyss!

The quantity of your circulating cash is very trifling. You are harrassed with paper, which you have under all sorts of denominations. Were all the gold of Europe collected in your treasury, it would scarcely pay your national debt*. We know not by what incredible illusion this fictitious money is kept up. The most frivolous event might, in the course of a day, throw it into discredit. There wants nothing but an alarm to bring on a sudden bankruptcy. The dreadful consequences which would follow this failure of faith, are

A a 3 past

* The public debt of England first began in King Charles's time, when that ill-advised monarch was prevailed upon to shut up the exchequer, and seize the bankers money, to the amount of about two millions Sterling. This measure at once stopped any person from lending any money to the public; and, during the unhappy reigns of the Stuarts, the national faith never again recovered its proper tone, till the Revolution, when King William came to the throne, when, in his first Parliament, the bankers debt was agreed to be funded, and interest paid till the principal was paid off. The debt was further increased by the wars of his reign, so that it amounted to about sixteen millions at the death of King William;—at the death of Queen Anne it amounted to above fifty millions;—in 1722 it was fifty-five millions;—in 1726 it was fifty-two millions;—in 1739, after a long peace, it was about forty-six millions. So that the debt in 1740, amounted to

L. 46,382,650

Increase during the war, 1740 to 1748, inclusive,

31,784,256

Debt 1749,

78,166,906

Decrease during the peace, 1749 to 1755,

3,089,641

Debt 1755

75,077,265

Increase during the war, 1755 to 1765

71,504,580

Debt 1765,

(Carried over)

L. 146,581,845

past our conception. And, behold, such is the instant marked out for you to make you declare against your colonies, that is to make you raise up against yourselves, an unjust, extravagant, ruinous war! What will become of you, when an important branch of your commerce shall be destroyed; when you shall have lost a third of your possessions; when you shall have massacred a million or two of your countrymen; when your force shall be exhausted, your traders ruined, your manufacturers reduced to starve; when your debt shall be augmented, and your revenue diminished! Look well to it; the blood of the Americans will sooner or later fall heavy on your heads. Its effusion will be revenged by your own hands; and you are fast arriving at the point.

But, say you, these people are rebels — Rebels! And why? because they will not be your slaves. A people subjected to the will of another people, who can dispose as they chuse of their government, of their laws, and of their trade; tax them at their pleasure; set bounds to their industry, and enchain it by arbitrary prohibitions, are bond-servants, yes, certainly are bond-servants; and their servitude is worse than what they would undergo if governed by a tyrant. Deliverance from the oppression of a tyrant is effected by his expulsion, or his death. You have delivered yourselves by each of these methods. But a nation is not to be put to death, is not to be expelled. Liberty is only to be expected from a rupture, which by its consequences involves one of the nations, and sometimes both of them,

Debt 1765,	(Brought over)	L. 146,581,845
Decrease during the peace, 1765 to 1775,		10,639,784

Debt 1775,		135,942,061
Increase from 1776 to 1781, inclusive,		63,487,500

By which it appears, that the funded debt of England amounts to	}	L. 199,429,561
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To which, add the unfunded debt,

Navy Bills,	L. 9,381,848
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Exchequer Bills,	4,400,000
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Bank Debt,	2,000,000
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	15,781,848
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Total debt of Great Britain,

L. 215,211,409

in

in ruin. A tyrant is a monster with a single head, which may be struck off at a single blow. A tyrannic nation is an hydra with a thousand heads, for the cutting off of which a thousand swords must be lifted up together. The crime of oppression committed by a tyrant collects all the indignation upon him alone. The commission of the same crime by a numerous society, scatters the horror and the shame of it upon a multitude, which never blushes. It is every body's fault, and nobody's; and the resentment of injury wanders wildly in despair, without knowing where to fix, or whether it is carried.

But they are our subjects——Your subjects! no more than the inhabitants of Wales are subjects to those of Lancashire. The authority of one nation over another can only be founded upon conquest, upon general consent, or upon conditions proposed on one part, and accepted on the other. Conquest binds no more than theft: the consent of the first settlers cannot be obligatory upon their descendants: and there can be no condition which must not be understood to be exclusive of the sacrifice of liberty. Liberty is not to be bartered for any thing, because there is not any thing which is of a comparable price. Such have been the discourses held by you to your tyrants; such hold we to you for your colonists.

The country which they occupy is our's——Your's! it is thus you call it, because you usurped it. But be it so. Does not the charter of concession oblige you to treat the Americans as countrymen? Have you done so? But we are well employed here truly in talking of concessions by charters, by which men grant what they are not masters of, what consequently they have not the right to grant to a handful of weak people, forced by circumstances to receive as a gratification that which belongs to them of natural right. Besides, have the descendants who are now living been called to a compact signed by their ancestors? Either confess the truth of this principle, or recall the descendants of James. What right had you to drive him away which we have not to separate ourselves from you? say the Americans to you: and what answer have you to make?

They

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have run in debt upon their account——Say, as much or more upon your own than theirs. If you have undertaken their defence, it was as you would have undertaken that of the Sultan of Constantinople, had your ambition or your interest required it. But have they not requitted you, in delivering up to you their productions*; in receiving your merchandize exclusively, at the exorbitant price you would please to put upon it; in subjecting themselves to prohibitions which cramped their industry, and to restrictions by which you have oppressed their property? Have they not assisted you? Have they not run in debt upon your account? Have they not taken arms, and fought for you? When you have made your requests to them, which is the proper way of dealing with freemen, have they not complied with them? When did you ever experience a refusal from them, but when you clapped a bayonet to their breast, and said, *Your money, or life; die, or be slaves?* What! because you have been beneficent, have you a right to be oppressive? What! and shall nations too build on gratitude the barbarous claim, to debase and trample under foot those who have had the misfortune to receive favours at their hands? Ah! individuals perhaps, though it is by no means a duty, individuals may, perhaps, in a benefactor tolerate a tyrant. In them, it is noble, it is magnanimous, without doubt, to consent to be wretched, that they may not be ungrateful. But the morality of nations is different. The public good is the first law, as the first duty. The first obligation of these great bodies is with themselves. They owe, before all other things, liberty and justice to the members which compose them. Every child which is born in the state,

every

* Britain, in the protection she gave to America, protected her own manufactures;—her own revenue, and her own resources of power, and influence. The Americans paid near three millions of money by the navigation act to this country; at least, it arose by balance of trade to this country. The money expended in protection, has been more than repaid, besides, by being put in possession of Canada. The plea of gratitude ought therefore to be equal.

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every new citizen who comes to breathe the air of the country he has chosen, or nature given him, is entitled to the greatest happiness he can enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that, is broken. Every contrary claim, is a wicked attempt upon his rights. And what is it to him, that his ancestors have been relieved, if he is destined to be himself oppressed? With what justice can be exacted from him the payment of this usurious debt of benefits, which he has never felt? No, no. The wishing to arm one's self with such a claim, against a whole nation, and its posterity, is to overturn all the ideas of policy and order, and, whilst one invokes the name of Morality, to betray all its laws. What have you not done for Hanover? Do you command at Hanover? All the republics of Greece were bound together by mutual services; but did any one exact, as a mark of gratitude, the right of disposing of the government of the succoured state?

Our honour is engaged—Say, that of your bad ministers, and not your's. In what does the true honour of him who has been mistaken consist? Is it to persist in his error, or to acknowledge it? Has he who returns to a sense of justice, any cause to blush? Englishmen, you have been too hasty. Why did you not wait till the Americans had been corrupted, as you are, by riches? Then they would have thought no more highly of their liberty than you do of your own. Then it would have been needless to take arms, against men subdued by opulence. But what instant have you chosen for attacking them? That in which what they had to lose, their liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to keep.

But later they would be more numerous—I agree, they would. What then have you attempted? The enslaving a people who shall be free, in spite of you, by time. In twenty, in thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will still be fresh; and the fruit of them will be ravished from you. Then, there will only remain to you remorse and shame. The history of nations and empires shows us, that great bodies give laws to little ones. But, tell me, if the Americans should then undertake against Great Britain what you have
now

now undertaken against them, what would you say? Precisely what they at this moment say to you. Why should motives which affect you so little in their mouths, appear to you more solid in your own?

They will not obey our parliament, nor adopt our ordinances—Did they make them? Can they change them?

We obey them readily enough, without having had, in time past, or having in the present, any influence over them—That is to say, that you are slaves; and that you cannot bear that men should be free. However, do not confound the situation of the Americans with your own. You have representatives, and they have not. You have voices which speak for you, and no person stipulates for them. If indeed these voices are bought and sold, it is an excellent reason for their disdaining such a frivolous advantage.

They wish to be independent of us—Are not you so of them?

They will never be able to support themselves without us—If that is the case, be quiet. Necessity will bring them back.

And if we should not be able to subsist without them—It would be a great misfortune; but to cut their throats, in order to get out of it, is a singular expedient.

It is for their interest, it is for their good, that we are severe with them, as one is severe with frantic children—Their interest! Their good! And who made you judges of these two objects which so nearly concern them, and which they must better know than you? If it should happen, that a man should make a forcible entry into another's house, because, forsooth, he is a man of great sense, and nobody more able to maintain peace and good order for his neighbour; would not one be in the right to humbly beg he would be pleased to take himself away, and to trouble his head about his own affairs; more especially, if the affairs of this officious hypocrite should be very badly ordered; if he should be, at the bottom, but an ambitious mortal, who, under the pretence of settling and ordering, should have a violent inclination to usurp; if he should cover, with the mask of benevolence, views full of injustice, such, for example,

example, as to get himself out of straits and difficulties at his neighbour's cost?

We are the mother-country—What, always the most sacred names to serve as a veil to interest and ambition! The mother-country! Fulfil the duties of it then. Besides, colonies are formed of different nations, amongst which some will grant, others refuse you this appellation; and all will with one voice tell you, There is a time when the authority of parents over their children ceases; and this time is when the children are able to take care of themselves. What term have you fixed for setting us free? Be candid, and you will allow that you had promised yourselves to be able to hold us in a wardship or minority which should never end; if, indeed, this wardship were not to have been changed into an insupportable constraint; if our advantage were not for ever to be sacrificed to yours; if we were not to have suffered a multitude of those minor oppressions, which, together, swell to a bulk most burdensome to bear, from the governors, the judges, the collectors, and the military, whom you send us; if the greatest part of them, at their arrival in our climate, were not to have brought with them, blasted characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the insolence of subaltern tyrants, who, tired in their own country with obeying laws, come to requite themselves, in a new world, by the too frequent exercise of an arbitrary power. You are the mother-country: but so far from encouraging, you dread our progress, bind our hands, and repress and stifle our growing strength. Nature, in favouring us, disappoints your secret wishes; or rather, you would chuse that we should remain in an eternal childhood, with regard to all that can be useful to ourselves; and that, notwithstanding, we should be robust vassals, to be employed in your service, and in the furnishing, without remission, new sources of wealth to your insatiable avidity. Is it this then to be a mother? Is it this to be a country to her children! Ah, in the forests which surround us, nature has given a gentler instinct to the savage beast, which, become a mother, devours not at least those whom she has produced.

Were

Were all their pretensions to be acquiesced in, they would soon be happier than we are—And why not? If you are corrupted, is it necessary that they must be corrupted too? If you have a disposition to slavery, must they too follow your example? If they had you for masters, why should you not confer the property of their country upon another power, upon your sovereign? Why should you not render him their despot, as you have by a solemn act declared him the despot of Canada? Would it then be necessary that they should ratify this extravagant concession? And even if they should have ratified it, must they obey the sovereign whom you should have given them; and, if he commanded it, take arms against you? The King of England has a negative power. No law can be promulgated without his consent. Why should the Americans grant him, in their country, a power, the inconvenience of which you every day experience? Should it be, in order one day to divest him of it, sword in hand, as it will happen to you, if your government be perfected? What benefit do you find in subjecting them to a vicious constitution?

Vicious or not, this is our constitution; and it ought to be generally acknowledged and received by all who bear the English name; without which, each of our provinces governing itself in its own way, having its own laws, and pretending to independence, we cease to form a national body, and are no more than a heap of little republics, detached, divided, continually rising against one another, and easily to be invaded by a common enemy. The wise and powerful Philip, capable of attempting such an enterprize, is at our door.—

If he is ^{at} your door, he is far from the Americans. A privilege which may have some inconvenience with regard to you, is not the less a privilege. But separated, as they are, from Great Britain by immense seas, of what importance is it to you, whether your colonies receive or reject your constitution? What does that make for or against your power; for or against your safety? This unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is still but a vain pretext. You object your laws to your colonies, when they are harrassed by them; and you tread them under foot, when they make in their

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favour. You tax yourselves, and you would tax them. If the least attempt is made upon this privilege, you make a furious outcry, fly to arms, and are ready to run on swords in its defence; and yet, you hold a dagger to the breast of your countryman, to oblige him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all the world; and you shut up the ports of your colonists. Your merchandize is wasted where you please; and theirs must necessarily come to you. You manufacture, and you will not suffer them to manufacture. They have skins, they have iron; and this iron, and these skins, they must deliver up to you unwrought. What you acquire at a low price, they must buy of you at the price which your rapacity imposes. You offer them up as victims to your traders; and because your India Company was in danger, the Americans must needs repair their losses. And yet you call them your countrymen and fellow-citizens; and it is thus that you invite them to receive your constitution. Go to, go to! This unity, this league, which seems so necessary to you, is but that of the silly animals in the fable, amongst which you have reserved to yourselves the lion's part.

Perhaps you have not suffered yourselves to be drawn to the filling the new world with blood and devastation, but by a false point of honour. We wish to persuade ourselves that so many outrages have not been the consequences of a project deliberately formed. You had been told, that the Americans were but a vile herd of cowards, whom the least threat would bring, terrified and trembling, to acquiesce in whatever it should please you to exact. Instead of the cowards which had been described and promised you, you find brave men, true Englishmen, countrymen worthy of yourselves. Is this a reason for your being irritated? What! your ancestors admired the Hollander shaking off the Spanish yoke; and should you, their descendants, be angry or surprized, that your countrymen, your brethren, that they who feel your blood circulate in their veins, should rather pour it on the ground and die, than live in slavery? A stranger, upon whom you should have formed the same pretensions, would have disarmed you, if, shewing you his naked breast, he had said, *Plunge in*
 VOL. VI. B b your

your poignard here, or leave me free: and yet you stab your brother, and you stab him without remorse, because he is your brother? Englishmen! what can be more ignominious than the savageness of a man, proud of his own liberty, and wickedly attempting to destroy the liberty of another! Would you have us believe, that the greatest enemy to freedom is the man that is free! Alas! we are but too much inclined to it. Enemies of kings, you have their arrogance and pride. Enemies of royal prerogative, you carry it every where. Every where you shew yourselves tyrants. Well then, tyrants of nations, and of your colonies, if in the event you prove the strongest, it will be because Heaven is deaf to the prayers which are directed to it from all the countries upon earth.

Since the seas have not swallowed up your blustering ruffians, tell me what will become of them, if there should arise in the new world a man of eloquence, promising eternal happiness to the martyrs of liberty who die in arms? Americans! let your priests be seen incessantly in their pulpits, with crowns of glory in their hands, pointing to heaven open. Priests of the new world, now is the time for it; expiate the detestable fanaticism which once laid waste America, by the happy fanaticism begotten by policy and freedom. No; you will not deceive your countrymen. To God, who is the principle of justice and of order, tyrants are an abomination. God has imprinted on the heart of man this sacred love of liberty; he wills not that slavery should disfigure and debase his noblest work. If deification be due to man, it is undoubtedly to that man who fights and dies for his native soil. Put his image in your temples; set it upon your altars. It shall be worshipped by his country. Form a political and religious kalendar, marking each day by the name of some hero, who shall have spilled his blood to set you free. Your posterity shall one day read them with sacred veneration. These, shall it say; behold these were the men who gave liberty to half a world; and who, charging themselves with our happiness, before we had existence, secured our infant slumbers from the being disturbed and terrified by the clank of chains.

WHEN

WHEN the cause of your colonies was debated in your houses of parliament, we heard some excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But that which should have been addressed to you perhaps is this :

“ I shall not talk to you, my lords and gentlemen, of the justice or injustice of your pretensions. I am not such a stranger to public affairs, as not to know that this preliminary discussion, so sacred in all the other circumstances of life, would be misplaced and ridiculous in this. I

shall not examine what hope you can have of succeeding, or if you are likely to prove the strongest in the event, though this subject might, perhaps, appear to you of some importance, and might probably insure me the honour of your attention. I will do more. I shall not compare the advantages of your situation, if you succeed, with the consequences which will follow, if you are unfortunate. I shall not ask you, how long you are determined to serve the cause of your enemies ? But I will suppose at once, that you have reduced your colonies to the degree of servitude which you have authoritatively required. Shew me only how you will fix and keep them. By a standing army ! But will this army, which will drain you of men and money, keep pace, or not keep pace, with the increase of population ? There are but two answers to my question ; and, of these two answers, one seems to me to be absurd, and the other brings you back to the point at which you are. I have reflected on it well ; and I have discovered, if I am not mistaken, the only rational and certain plan which you have to follow ; and it is, as soon as you shall be the masters, to stop the progress of population, since it appears to you more advantageous, more honourable, and more becoming to domineer over a small number of slaves, than to have a nation of freemen for your equals and your friends.

“ But you will ask me, How is the progress of population to be stopped ? The expedient might shock weak minds, and faint-hearted souls ; but happily

What was the part which England should have taken when she saw the fermentation of her colonies.

“ there are not any such in this august assembly. It
 “ is, to stab without pity the greatest part of these
 “ vile rebels, and to reduce the rest of them to the
 “ condition of the negroes. The brave and generous
 “ Spartans, so extolled in ancient and modern story,
 “ have set you the example. Like them, and with
 “ their faces muffled in their cloaks, shall our fellow-
 “ citizens, and the braveoes in our pay, go clandestine-
 “ ly, and by night, to massacre the children of our
 “ Helots, at their fathers side, and on their mothers
 “ breast ; and leave alive but such a number of them as
 “ may be sufficient for their labours, and consistent with
 “ our safety.”

Englishmen ! you shudder at this horrible proposition,
 and you ask what part there is to be taken. Vanquish-
 ers, or vanquished, see here then what you ought to
 do. If the resentment, excited by your cruelties, can
 be calmed ; if the Americans can shut their eyes to the
 devastation which surrounds them ; if, in passing over
 the ruins of their towns destroyed by fire, their planta-
 tions laid waste, and their country whitened with the
 bones of murdered relations ; if, in drawing in with e-
 very respiration the scent of the blood which your hands
 have on all sides shed, they can forget the outrages of
 your despotism ; if they can prevail upon themselves to
 place the least confidence in your declarations of contri-
 tion, and to believe that you have indeed sincerely re-
 nounced the injustice of your pretensions, begin by re-
 calling your mercenary cut-throats ; restore freedom
 to their ports, which you keep shut up ; withdraw your
 squadrons from their coasts ; and, if there be a wise ci-
 tizen amongst you, let him take the olive branch in his
 hand, present himself, and say,

“ O you, our countrymen ; and our old friends, al-
 “ low us this title. We have profaned it, but our re-
 “ pentance renders us worthy to resume it, and we as-
 “ pire henceforward at the glory to preserve it. We
 “ confess, in the presence of this heaven, and of this
 “ earth, which have been conscious of it, we confess,
 “ that our pretensions have been unjust, our conduct
 “ has been cruel. Let it on each side be forgotten.
 “ Raise up again your fortresses and your ramparts.

Reassemble

" Reassemble in your peaceable habitations. Let us
 " wash out the remembrance of every drop of blood
 " that has been spilled. We admire the generous spi-
 " rit by which you have been actuated. It is the same
 " with that to which, in similar circumstances, we have
 " been indebted for our political salvation. Yes, it is
 " by these marks, expressly, that we now know you to
 " be indeed our countrymen, to be indeed our brothers;
 " concerning whom we have verily been guilty; and
 " therefore is this distress come upon us. You would
 " be free; be ye free. Be so, in the whole extent which
 " we have ourselves given to this sacred name. It is
 " not of us that you hold this right. To us belongs
 " not the power by which it is either to be given or
 " taken away. You have received it, as we did, from
 " nature, which the crimes and swords of tyrants may
 " oppose, but which the crimes and swords of tyrants
 " cannot destroy. We lay claim to no sort of superio-
 " rity over you. We aspire but at the honour of equa-
 " lity. This glory is sufficient for us. We know too
 " well the inestimable value of governing ourselves, to
 " wish henceforward that you should be divested of the
 " boon.

" If, supreme masters and arbiters of your legislation,
 " you can create for your states a better government
 " than ours, we give you anticipated joy. Your hap-
 " piness will inspire us with no other sentiment, than
 " the desire of imitating you. Form for yourselves
 " constitutions adapted to your climate, to your soil,
 " to this new world you civilize. Who better than
 " yourselves can know your peculiar wants? High spi-
 " rited and virtuous minds like yours, should only obey
 " the laws which shall be given them by themselves.
 " All other restraint would be unworthy of them. Re-
 " gulate your own taxation. We desire you only to
 " conform yourselves to our custom in the assessment of
 " the duties. We will present to you a state of our
 " wants; and you will, of yourselves, assign the just pro-
 " portion between your succours and your riches.

" Moreover, exercise your industry, like us; with-
 " out limitation exercise it. Avail yourselves of the
 " benefits of nature, and of the fruitful countries you

" inhabit. Let the iron of your mines, the wool of
 " your flocks, the skins of the savage animals which
 " wander in your woods, fashioned in your manufac-
 " tures, take a new value from your hands. Let your
 " ports be free. Go, and expose to sale the produc-
 " tions of your lands, and of your arts, in all the quar-
 " ters of the world. Go, and seek for those of which
 " you stand in need. It is one of our privileges; let
 " it be likewise yours. The empire of the ocean, which
 " we have acquired by two ages of greatness and glory,
 " belongs as well to you as us. We shall be united by
 " the ties of commerce. You will bring us your pro-
 " ductions, which we shall receive in preference to those
 " of all other people; and we hope that you will prefer
 " ours to those of foreigners, without being restrained
 " to it however by any law, but that of the common
 " interest, and the fair claims of countrymen and
 " friends.

" Let the ships of your country and of ours, adorn-
 " ed by the same streamer, overspread the seas; and
 " let shouts of joy arise on each side, when sister-vessels
 " meet each other in the deserts of the ocean. Let
 " peace spring up again between us, and concord last
 " for ever. We are sensible, at length, that the tie of
 " mutual benevolence is the only one which can bind
 " such distant empires together, and that every other
 " principle of unity would be precarious and unjust.

" Upon this new plan of eternal amity, let agricul-
 " ture, industry, laws, arts, and the first of all sciences,
 " that of procuring the greatest good to communities
 " and individuals, be perfected amongst you. Let the
 " recital of your happiness call around your habitations
 " all the unfortunate of the earth. Let the tyrants of
 " all countries, let all oppressors, political or sacred,
 " know, that there exists upon the earth a place, where
 " a deliverance from their chains is to be found; where
 " afflicted, disgraced humanity has lifted up her head;
 " where harvests grow for the poor; where laws are
 " no more than the security of happiness; where reli-
 " gion is free, and conscience has ceased to be a slave;
 " where, in short, nature seems to put in her plea of
 " justification, for having created man; and govern-
 " ment,

" ment, so long time guilty over all the earth, makes
 " at last the reparation of its crimes. Let the idea of
 " such an asylum serve as a terror and restraint to de-
 " spots: for if they have no kindness about their hearts,
 " and look with indifference on the happiness of man,
 " they have at least much avarice and ambition, which
 " must make them anxious to preserve both their rich-
 " es and their power.

" We ourselves, O countrymen, O friends, we our-
 " selves shall profit by your example. If our constitu-
 " tion should be altered for the worse; if public riches
 " should corrupt the court, and the court the nation;
 " if our kings, to whom we have given so many dread-
 " ful examples, should at last forget them; if we should
 " be in danger, we who were an august people, of
 " dwindling to a vile herd of abjects, by basely setting
 " ourselves to sale, the sight of your virtues and your
 " laws might re-animate us; it might recal to our de-
 " praved and dastard hearts, with a sense of the value
 " and the grandeur of liberty, the energy to preserve
 " it. But if it must be, that such an example as yours
 " shall want power to prompt us; if it must be, that
 " slavery, the never-failing follower of venality, shall
 " be, one day, established in that land which has been
 " drenched with blood in the cause of freedom, which
 " has seen scaffolds erected for the punishment of ty-
 " rants; then will we emigrate like your fathers; then
 " will we abandon, in a body, that ungrateful isle, de-
 " livered up to a despot, and leave the monster to reign
 " and roar in a desert for domain. Then shall you
 " surely welcome us as friends, as brothers. You will
 " suffer us to partake with you of this soil, of this air,
 " free as the generous souls of their inhabitants; and,
 " thanks to your virtues, we shall find again an Eng-
 " land, again a country.

" Such, brave countrymen, are our hopes, such our
 " wishes. Receive then our oaths, pledges of so holy
 " an alliance. Let us invoke, to render the treaty still
 " more solemn, let us invoke our common ancestors,
 " who were all animated by the spirit of liberty like
 " you, and did not dread to die in its defence. Let us
 " call to witness the memory of the illustrious founder

“ of your colonies, that of your august legislators; of
 “ the philosophic Locke, the first man upon the earth
 “ who made a code of toleration; of the venerable
 “ Penn, the first who founded a city of brethren. The
 “ spirits of these great men, who surely at this moment
 “ are beholding us with earnestness and with pleasure,
 “ are worthy to preside at a treaty, which is about to
 “ draw the blessings of peace upon a double world. Let
 “ us swear, in their presence; let us swear, upon the
 “ very arms, with which you have so valiantly with-
 “ stood us; let us swear to remain for ever united, and
 “ for ever true; and when the oath of peace shall have
 “ been pronounced by all, make, of these same arms,
 “ a sacred deposit in some hallowed pile, where the fa-
 “ thers shall shew them to the generations as they rise;
 “ and there keep them carefully from age to age, in
 “ order to their being one day turned against the first,
 “ be he English or American, who shall dare propose
 “ the rupture of that alliance, which is equally useful,
 “ equally honourable to both names.”

At this discourse, I hear the towns, the villages, the
 fields, all the shores of North America resound, with
 liveliest acclamation, with tenderest repetition of the
 endearing names of *brother* and of *mother*, applied to
 your country and her sons. And whilst the conflagra-
 tions of war are succeeded by bonfires and sports, and
 every demonstration of a heart-felt triumphant joy, I
 see the nations, envious of your power, stand aghast in
 silence, astonishment, and despair.

Your parliament is about to meet. What is to be
 expected from it? Will it listen to reason, or will it
 persevere in its madness? Will it be the defender of the
 rights of nations, or the instrument of the tyranny of
 ministers? Will its acts be the decrees of a free people;
 or edicts dictated by the court? I am present at the de-
 liberations of your houses. In these revered resorts I
 hear wisdom speak by the mouth of moderation. Soft
 persuasion seems to flow there, from the lips of the most
 distinguished orators. My heart is filled with hope;
 tears gush from my eyes. Presently a voice, the organ
 of despotism and of war, suspends the delicious, sweet
 emotion.

“ Englishmen.”

“Englishmen,” cries a mad haranguer, “can you hesitate a moment? It is your rights, it is your most important interests, it is the glory of your name, that you are called upon to defend. It is not a foreign power which attacks these essential objects. They are menaced by an interior domestic enemy. The danger therefore is greater, the outrage the more sensible.”

“Between two rival powers, armed for mutual pretensions, policy may sometimes suspend hostilities. Against rebel subjects, slackness is the greatest fault, and all moderation weakness. The standard of revolt, which was set up by audacity, should be torn down by power. Let the sword of justice fall heavy on the hands which dared display it. Let us be expeditious. In these cases there is a first moment which must be seized on; revolutions should be strangled in their birth. Give not to minds yet in amazement, time to grow familiar with their guilt; to the ringleaders, time to confirm their power; nor to the people, that of learning to obey new masters. People, in a revolt, are almost always actuated by foreign impulses. Neither their fury, nor their hatred, nor their love, are properly their own. You may give them passions, as easily as arms. Display to their eyes the power and majesty of the British empire: they will presently be falling at your feet; and go in an instant from terror to compunction, from compunction to obedience. If we must have recourse to the severity of arms, let us have no scruples. In civil war, pity is a most mistaken virtue. When the sword is once drawn, it ought not to be stayed, but by submission. It is for them to answer now, to Heaven and to earth, for the evils which they may bring upon themselves. Consider, that a transient severity, in these rebellious countries, will insure us peace and obedience that will last for ages.

“In order to make us suspend our blows, and disarm our hands, we have been repeatedly told, that the land is peopled by our countrymen, by our friends, by our brethren. What, invoke in their favour names which they have outraged, bands which they have
“broken?”

“ broken? These names, these bands, so sacred, are
“ the very thing that accuses and attaints them. How
“ long are these revered titles to impose duties on us
“ alone? How long have rebellious children the right
“ to take arms against their mother, despoil her of her
“ heritage, and rend her heart? They talk of liberty:
“ I respect this name as much as they do; but is it
“ independence, that we are to understand by this li-
“ berty? Is it the right to overturn a legislation
“ founded and established two centuries ago? Is it
“ the right to usurp all those which we possess? They
“ talk of liberty; but I talk, and will always talk, of
“ the supremacy, and the sovereign power of Britain.

“ What supposing they had some causes of com-
“ plaint, supposing they intended to refuse bearing
“ some light portion of the heavy burden under which
“ we stagger, to refuse unreasonably to make themselves
“ partners in our expences, as we have made them
“ partners in our greatness, had they no other way to
“ do it, than by revolt and arms? There are those
“ who call them our *countrymen*, and our *friends*; but,
“ for my part, I can see them in no other light than
“ that of the most cruel persecutors and enemies of our
“ country. It is said we had common fathers; and
“ so, undoubtedly, we had: but these respectable an-
“ cestors I myself with confidence invoke. If their
“ spirits could here resume their places, their indigna-
“ tion would not be less than our own. With what
“ wrath would these virtuous citizens then understand,
“ that those of their descendants who went to fix them-
“ selves beyond the seas, no sooner began to be a little
“ conscious of their strength, than they made a traito-
“ rous trial of it against their country; armed them-
“ selves against her with the very benefits her bounty
“ had bestowed? Yes, all; even to that pacific sect,
“ enjoined strictly by their founder never to dip their
“ hands in blood; they, who have respected the lives
“ and the rights of savage people; they, who by an
“ enthusiasm of humanity, have struck off the fetters
“ from their slaves: now, equally faithless to their
“ country and their religion, they arm themselves for
“ slaughter; and it is against you. They treat all
“ men

“men as brethren; and you, you only, of all people,
“are excluded from the title. They have shewn the
“world that the savages of America, that the negroes
“of Africa, are henceforward less alien to them than
“the citizens of Britain.

“Arm, then, arm. Britons, strike home; revenge,
“revenge, your country’s wrongs, your offended
“rights. Revenge the treason to your greatness.
“Display that power, so formidable in Europe, in
“Africa, and the Indies; which has so often astonish-
“ed America herself; and since between a sovereign
“people, and the subject people who revolt, there can
“be no treaty now, but force, let force decide. Snatch
“opportunely at this world, which is falling from you,
“and resume it; it is your property, which ingrati-
“tude and insolence would ravish from you.”

THE sophisms of a boisterous strutting
speechifier, upheld by the influence of the
crown and national pride, suppress, in the
majority of the representatives of the peo-
ple, the desire of pacific measures. New
resolutions resemble those which begot
them; but with aggravated features of fe-
rocity and despotism. Troops are levied, fleets are e-
quipped. Admirals and generals set sail for the new
world, with orders and projects sanguinary and savage.
Nothing less than unconditional submission can restrain
or retard the devastation ordained against the colonies.

*England
determines
to reduce
her colo-
nies by
force.*

Until this memorable period, the Americans had con-
fined themselves to a resistance, authorized even by the
English laws. No other ambition appeared in them,
than that of maintaining the very limited rights which
they had hitherto always enjoyed. Even the leading
men amongst them, who might have been supposed to
have had more enlarged ideas, had not yet ventured to
speak to the multitude of any thing but an advantage-
ous accommodation. They would have been afraid, in
going further, of losing the confidence of people attach-
ed by habit to an empire, under whose wings they had
prospered. The accounts of the great preparations
which were making in the old world, with fetters to
confine,

confine, or with fire to consume, the new, extinguished all remains of affection for the original government. The only thing now, was to give energy to minds ready to receive it. This was the effect which produced a work, intituled "*Common Sense*." We shall give here the sum and substance of its doctrine, without tying ourselves down to its exact form and order.

Never, says the author of this celebrated performance, never did an object of such consequence call for the attention of the world. It is not that of a city or a province; it is that of an immense continent, and of a considerable portion of the globe. It is not the affair of a day; it is that of ages. The present is about to decide upon a long futurity; and many hundreds of years after that we shall be no more, the sun, in illuminating this hemisphere, will illuminate our glory, or expose our shame. A long time did we talk of peace and reconciliation: all is changed. On the day when, in consequence of the recourse which has been had to arms, the first drop of blood was shed, time for disquisition passed away. A day has given birth to a revolution. A day has transported us to another age.

Timid souls, souls who measure the future by the past, think that we stand in need of the protection of England. That protection might be useful to a rising colony; it is become dangerous for a nation now formed. Infancy must needs be supported in its weak endeavours to walk; youth should march actively and freely, in power and pride of port. The nation, as well as the man, who may have the power and right to protect me, may have the power and will to oppress me. I renounce the support of a protector, to be secured from the fear of a master.

In Europe, the people are too much agitated to allow to this part of the world the enjoyment of constant peace. In those courts and nations interests meet interests, and jostle without end. As friends of England we must necessarily have all her enemies for our own. This alliance will entail upon America the dower of perpetual war. Let us part, let us part. Neutrality, trade, and peace; such, and such only, can be the foundations of our greatness.

The

The authority of Great Britain over America must sooner or later come to an end. So wills nature, necessity, and time. The English government can, therefore, give us only a transient constitution; and we shall bequeath to our posterity but debts, and dissensions, and a precarious state. If we would insure their happiness, let us part. If we are fathers, if we love our children, let us part. Laws and liberty are the heritage we owe them.

England is too far removed from us; we cannot be governed by such a distant country. What, to traverse, always, six thousand miles, to claim justice, or to ask for laws! to exculpate ourselves from imaginary crimes, or solicit, with meanness, the court and ministers of a foreign clime! What, to wait for years for every answer; and to find, as we might too often, when we had crossed and recrossed the ocean, that injustice only would be the product of our voyage! No; in a great state, the centre and the seat of power must be in the state itself. Nothing but the despotism of the East can inure men thus to receive their laws from rulers far remote, or from the bashaws, by whom invisible tyrants are represented. But let it not be forgotten, that the greater the distance, the more ponderous and cruel is the pressure of the despotic power; and the people then, deprived of almost all the advantages of government, feel only its miseries and its vices.

Nature did not create a world to subject it to the inhabitants of an island in another world. Nature has established the laws of equilibrium, which she every where observes, in the heavens as well as upon the earth. By the laws of bodies, and of distances, America can only belong to itself.

There is no government without a mutual confidence between him who commands and him who obeys. It is all over: this mutual confidence is broken, and never can be re-established. England has too clearly shewn that she would command us like slaves; America, that she was equally sensible both of her rights and of her strength. They have each betrayed their secret. From this moment there can be no further treaty. It would be signed by hatred and distrust; hatred, which never

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pardons ; distrust, which, by its very nature, can never be reconciled.

Would you know what would be the consequences of an accommodation ? Your ruin. You stand in need of laws ; you will not obtain them. Who would give them to you ? The English nation ? She is jealous of your increase. The ? He is your enemy. Yourself, in your assemblies ? Do you not remember that all legislation is submitted to the negative right of the monarch, who would bring you to his yoke ? This right would be a formidable right incessantly armed against you. Make requests ; they will be eluded. Form pleas of commerce and greatness ; they will become to the mother-country an object of terror. Your government will be no more than a kind of clandestine war ; that of an enemy, who would destroy without openly attacking ; it will be, according to the ordinary course of policy, a slow and secret assassination, which will cause languour and prolong weakness, and, with the art of an imperial torturer, equally prohibit you to live or die. Submit to England ; and behold your fate.

It is not without right that we take arms. Our right is necessity, a just defence, the miseries of ourselves and of our children, the excesses committed against us. Our right is our august title of nation. It is for the sword to judge us. The tribunal of war, is the only tribunal which now exists for us. Well then, since the sword must necessarily be drawn, let us be sure, at least, that it be for a cause that may be worthy of it, and requite us for both our treasure and our blood. What, shall we expose ourselves to the seeing our cities destroyed, our lands laid waste, our families slaughtered, in order to compass at last an accommodation ; that is, to beg for new chains, and cement ourselves the edifice of our bondage ? What, shall it be by the dreadful light of conflagrations, shall it be on the tomb of our fathers, or our children, or our wives, that we shall sign a treaty with our proud oppressors ! and, all covered with our blood, will they deign to pardon us ! Ah, we should then be but a despicable object of astonishment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey them, we had not the

right

right to combat them. Liberty alone can emancipate us. Liberty, and perfect liberty, is the only object worthy of our labours and our dangers. What do I say? From this moment it is our own. Our title is written on the bloody plains of Lexington; it was there that the hand of England tore the contract by which we were united to her. Yes. At the moment when the report of the first musquet discharged by England was heard, nature herself proclaimed us free and independent.

Let us profit by the benefit of our foes. The youth of nations is the age most favourable to their independence. It is the time of energy and vigour. Our souls are not yet surrounded by that apparatus of luxury, which serves as hostage to a tyrant. Our arms are not yet enervated in the arts of softness. Amongst us are not seen to domineer those nobles, who, by their very constitution, are the necessary allies of kings; who love not liberty, but when they can make of it an instrument of oppression; those nobles, eager for privilege and title, for whom, in critical conjunctures, the people are but tools, for whom the supreme power is a ready corruptor.

Your colonies are formed of plain, brave, laborious, upright men, at once proprietors and cultivators of their land. Liberty is their first want. Rural labours have already hardened them for war; and every engagement, nay, every petty skirmish with the enemy, must at last perfect them in the art of war. Public enthusiasm brings to light unknown talents. It is in revolutions that great minds are formed, that heroes shew themselves, and take their place. Remember Holland, and all her sons; and that multitude of extraordinary men to which the quarrel of her liberty gave birth: behold in these men an example for you; remember their success, and behold a presage.

Let our first step be to form a constitution by which we may be united. The moment is arrived. Later, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity and the caprice of chance. The more people and riches we shall acquire, the more barriers will there be raised up between us. Then, how shall so many provinces and in-

terests be made consistent? For such an union it is necessary, that each people should at once be sensible, both of the particular weakness, and the general strength. There must be great calamities or great fears. It is then, amongst communities as amongst individuals, that spring up those firm and vigorous friendships which associate souls with souls, and interests with interests. It is then, that one spirit, breathed from every part, forms the genius of states; and that all the scattered powers become by union a single and a formidable power. Thanks to our persecutors, we are at this epocha. If we are resolute, it will be that of our happiness. Few nations have laid hold of the favourable moment to form their government. Once escaped, this moment returns no more; and anarchy or slavery punishes the neglect of it for ages. Let not a similar fault prepare for us similar regret. Regret is impotent.

Let the moment, which, in respect to us, is singular, be seized on. We have it in our power to frame the noblest constitution that the world has seen. You have read in your sacred books how mankind were destroyed by the general deluge. A single family survived, and was commanded by the Supreme Being to re-people the earth. We are this family. Despotism has deluged all; and we can a second time renew the world.

We are about, at this moment, to decide the fate of a race of men more numerous, perhaps, than all the people of Europe put together. Shall we wait till we become the prey of a conqueror, and suffer the hope of the universe to be destroyed? Imagine to yourselves, that all the generations of the world to come, have at this moment their eyes fixed on us, and demand of us their liberty. We are about to fix their destiny. If we give them up, they will, perhaps, one day, drag their chains across our tombs, and load them with imprecations.

Call to mind a writing which has appeared amongst you, and had for a motto, **UNITE OR DIE.**

Let us unite then, and begin by declaring our **INDEPENDENCE.** That alone can efface the title of rebellious subjects, which our insolent oppressors have dared to give us. That alone can make us rise up to the digni-

ty which is our due, insure us allies amongst the different powers, impress respect even upon our enemies, and, if we treat with them, give us the right to treat, with the power and dignity which becomes a nation.

But I repeat it; we must be quick. Our uncertainty causes our weakness. Let us dare to be free, and we are so. Ready to take the leap, we shrink back. We read the countenances of each other with anxious curiosity. It seems, as if we were astonished at our own boldness, and that our very courage gave us fear. But it is not now the time to be musing on calculations. It is past. In great affairs, in which there is but one great part to take, too much circumspection ceases to be prudence. Every thing that is extreme, demands resolution in the extreme. Then, the boldest measures are the wisest; and the excess of boldness itself becomes the means and the warrant of success.

SUCH was the substance of the sentiments and ideas displayed in this work. They confirmed in their principles the enterprising spirits who had long required a total separation from the mother country. The timid citizens, who till then had been wavering, now declared decisively for this great and interesting rupture. The votes for independence were numerous enough to bring the general congress, on the 4th of July 1776, to the determination to pronounce it.

The colonies break the ties which united them to England, and declare themselves independent of her.

Why have I not received the genius and the eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and of Rome! With what grandeur, with what enthusiasm, should I not speak of those generous men who, by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage, erected this grand edifice. Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene: but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them all. Their honoured names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall shew them to remotest ages. In beholding them, shall the friend of freedom feel his eyes floating in delicious tears.

and his heart palpitate with joy. Under the bust of one of them has been written, **HE WRESTED THUNDER FROM HEAVEN, AND THE SCEPTRE FROM TYRANTS***. Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake.

Heroic country, my advanced age permits me not to visit thee. Never shall I see myself amongst the respectable personages of thy Areopagus; never shall I be present at the deliberations of thy Congress. I shall die without having seen the retreat of toleration, of manners, of laws, of virtue, and of freedom. My ashes will not be covered by a free and holy earth: but I shall have desired it; and my last breath shall bear to heaven an ejaculation for thy prosperity.

Though America might be assured of universal approbation, she thought it incumbent on her to expose to the eyes of the world the motives of her conduct. She published her manifesto, in which we read, that,

“ The history of the English nation and its king
“ will show to the succeeding generations, whom it
“ shall entertain and instruct with accounts of them and
“ us, a series of outrages and of usurpations, all of
“ which equally tended to establish absolute tyranny in
“ these provinces.

“ It will show, that the monarch refused his consent
“ to laws the most salutary, and the most necessary to
“ the public good.

“ That he removed the assemblies to inconvenient
“ places, at a distance from all records, in order to
“ bring the deputies more easily to his views.

“ That he had frequently dissolved the assembly of
“ representatives, because they had stedfastly defended
“ the people’s rights.

“ That, after such dissolution, he had left the states
“ too long without representatives, and consequently
“ exposed to the inconveniencies resulting from the
“ want of assemblies.

“ That he endeavoured to hinder population, by raising difficulties to the naturalization of foreigners,

* *Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis*, is the line applied to the great Electrician,

" and by selling the lands, of which he granted the
" property, too dear.

" That he made the judges too dependent on him-
" self, by decreeing that they should hold but of him
" alone, both their offices and their salaries.

" That he created new employments, and filled this
" country with a multitude of placemen, who devoured
" our substance and disturbed our quiet.

" That he maintained amongst us, in time of pro-
" found peace, a considerable number of troops, with-
" out the consent of the legislative power.

" That he rendered the military power independent
" of, and even superior to, the civil power.

" That he contrived all means, in conjunction with
" perverse men, to quarter armed soldiers in our hou-
" ses, and shield them from the punishments due to the
" murders they might commit in America; to destroy
" our trade in all parts of the world; to impose taxes
" on us without our consent; to deprive us, in many
" cases, of our trials by juries; to transport us, and
" make us take our trials, beyond the seas, 6000 miles
" from our own home, and to this distance we must tran-
" sport all our witnesses, an expence burdensome to the
" most opulent; to take away our charters; suppress
" our best laws; to alter the foundation and the form
" of our government for the worse; to suspend our
" own legislation and authority, and make us receive
" other laws.

" That he himself abdicated his government in the
" American provinces, by declaring us fallen from his
" protection, and by making war upon us.

" That he caused our coasts to be ravaged, our ports
" to be destroyed, our towns to be burnt, our people to
" be massacred.

" That he forced those of our brethren who were
" taken prisoners upon the high seas, to bear arms a-
" gainst their country, to become the executioners of
" their friends and relations, or to perish themselves by
" hands so dear.

" That he excited amongst us intestine divisions; and
" that he endeavoured to raise against our peaceable in-
" habitants

“ habitants the barbarous savages, accustomed to massacre all, without distinction of rank, sex, or age.

“ That at this time there arrived on our shores foreign mercenaries, commissioned to complete the work of devastation and death.

“ And that a prince, whose character was thus marked by all the features of tyranny, was not fit to govern a free people.”

A step which broke the ties formed by blood, by religion, and by habit, was to be supported by a grand concert of wills, by wise and vigorous measures. The United States of America gave themselves a federate constitution, which joined to the interior advantages of republican government all the power of monarchy.

Each province had an assembly, formed by the representatives of the different districts, and in which the legislative power resided. The executive power was committed to its president. His rights and his obligations were, to listen to every application from any of the people; to call them together when circumstances might require it; to provide for the arming and subsisting troops, and concert the operations of them with their officers. He was at the head of a secret committee, which was to hold a continual correspondence with the general congress. The time of his continuance in office was limited to two years. But the laws permitted a prolongation of it.

The provinces were not obliged to render an account of their administration to the great council of the nation, though composed of the deputies of all the colonies. The superiority of the general congress over the particular congresses was confined to matters relative to politics and war.

Some people, however, have thought that the institution of this body was not so well contrived as the legislation of the provinces. It seems, indeed, that confederate states, which raise themselves from the condition of subjects to that of being independent, cannot without danger trust their delegates with the unlimited power of making peace and war. For these delegates, should they be corrupt or ill informed, might bring back the whole state to the bondage from which it is seeking

to

to escape. It seems, that in these times of revolution, the will of the public cannot be too well known, too literally pronounced. It is necessary, undoubtedly, they say, that all the measures, all the operations, which relate to the common defence and offence, should be decided on by the common representatives of the body of the state; but the continuation of war, and the conditions of peace, ought to be deliberated upon in every province; and the deliberations to be transmitted to the congress by the deputies, who would submit the opinion of their provinces to the plurality of voices. In short, they add, that if, in established governments, it is proper that the people should rely with confidence in the wisdom of their senate, in a state where the constitution is only forming; where the people, as yet uncertain of their fate, call for their liberty, sword in hand, it is necessary that all the citizens should be continually in council, in camp, in the public places, and have their eyes continually directed to the representatives to whom their destiny has been committed.

Though these principles are true in general, there might be a difficulty, we may answer, in applying them to the new republic formed by the Americans. It is not with that republic as with the federate republics which we see in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which occupy a country but of small extent, and in which it is easy to establish a rapid communication between all the provinces. The same thing may be said of the confederacies of ancient Greece. These states were situated at a small distance from each other, confined almost within the narrow compass of the Peloponnesus, or, at most, within the limits of the Archipelago. But the united states of America, dispersed over an immense continent; occupying in the new world a space of almost fifteen degrees; separated by deserts, by mountains, by gulfs, and by a vast extent of coast, cannot have the advantage of this rapid communication. If the general congress could not decide upon political interests without the particular deliberations of each province; if, on every important occasion, on every unforeseen event, it should be necessary to give new instructions, and, as we may say, a new power to the

the representatives, this body would remain inactive. The distances to be passed, the delays and the multitude of debates, might too often prove hurtful to the public good.

Besides, it is never at the birth of a constitution, and amidst the great fermentations of liberty, that there is cause to fear that a body of representatives should, either from weakness or corruption, betray the interests with which they are entrusted. It is rather in such a body that the general spirit is both exalted and inflamed. In that resides, in its vigour, the genius of the nation. Chosen by the esteem of their fellow-citizens, chosen at a time when every public function is a danger, and every vote an honour; placed at the head of those who will compose for ever that celebrated areopagus, and thence even naturally carried to regard the public liberty as their own work; they cannot but have the enthusiasm of founders, who make it their pride to have their names engraved conspicuously, to be read by distant ages, on the frontispiece of an august monument which is rising. The fears which the partisans of the contrary system might have upon this object, seem therefore to have small foundation.

I will say more. It might happen that a people who are fighting for liberty, fatigued with a long and painful struggle; and more struck with the present danger than the future good, might feel their courage failing, and, perhaps, one day, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to independence and tumult, attended with peril and with blood. It would then be advantageous to this people to have divested themselves of the power of making peace with their oppressors, and deposited it in the hands of the senate, which they had chosen to serve as an organ to their will, when this will could shew itself with freedom, pride, and courage. It seems as if each individual, when he had given his voice for the instituting such a senate, should say to it, "I raise the standard of war against my tyrants. If my arm should weary in the war, if I could debase myself so low as to implore repose, support me against my weakness. Listen to no prayer or wish unworthy of me, which I disavow before"

"hand;

“ hand ; and pronounce not the name of peace until
“ my bonds be broken.”

In reality, if we consult the history of republics, we shall see, that the multitude have almost always great impetuosity and heat at the first moment ; but that it is only in a small number of chosen men, and qualified to serve as chiefs, that reside those constant and vigorous resolutions which march, with a steady, firm, undaunted step, towards some great and worthy end, never turning from the path, and never ceasing, with steady perseverance, to combat all obstructions that they meet with, from fortune, from misery, and from man.

HOWEVER it be, and whatsoever side may be taken in this political discussion, the Americans had not yet formed for themselves a system of government, when, in the month of March, Hopkins plundered the island of Providence of a large train of artillery and a considerable quantity of ammunition ; when, in the beginning of May, Carleton drove out of Canada the Provincial troops, which were employed to reduce Quebec, with a view of completing the conquest of that important territory ; when, in the month of June, Clinton and Parker had been so vigorously repulsed on the Southern coasts of America. Far greater scenes followed the declaration of independence.

*Commence-
ment of the
war be-
tween the
United
States and
England.*

Howe had been appointed to supersede the feeble Gage ; and it was this new general who had evacuated Boston. Having arrived on the 2d of April at Halifax, on the 10th of June he departed for Staten Island. The forces, which were to act both by sea and land, successively joined him according to expectation ; and, on the 28th of August, he landed on Long-Island without opposition, under the protection of a fleet commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans exhibited as little spirit in defending the interior part of their country as they did on the landing of the enemy.

After a very feeble resistance, and considerable loss, they took refuge on the continent with a facility,
which

which would hardly have been granted them by a conqueror, who knew how to avail himself of the advantages he had obtained. The city of New-York too was abandoned by these new republicans with still greater precipitation than they had evacuated Long-Island: and they filed off towards Kingsbridge, where they appeared determined to make an obstinate resistance.

If the English had followed up their success with that vivacity which circumstances demanded, the new-raised troops which had opposed them had infallibly been dispersed, or reduced to the necessity of laying down their arms. On the contrary, they were allowed six weeks to recover from their consternation: nor did they abandon their intrenchments till the night of the first or second of November, when the movements, which were making in their view, were sufficient to convince them that their camp was upon the point of being attacked.

Their commander in chief, Washington, was unwilling to trust the fate of his country to an action, which might, and naturally would, have terminated to the prejudice of those important interests which had been committed to him. He knew, that delays, ever favourable to a native, are ever fatal to a stranger. This conviction determined him to retire to the Jerseys with a design of protracting the war. Favoured both by the inclemency of the season, by his knowledge of the country, and by the nature of the ground, which compensated in some measure for the want of discipline, he had reason to flatter himself, that he should be able to cover the greatest part of this fertile province, and keep the enemy at a distance from Pennsylvania. In a moment, however, he sees his colours abandoned by the soldiers, whose engagement, at the end of six, and even at the end of three months, had expired: and of an army of twenty-five thousand men, there scarce remained two thousand five hundred, with which he was fortunate enough to retire beyond the Delaware.

Without losing a moment, the King's troops ought to have passed the river in pursuit of this handful of fugitives, and have put them totally to the route. If the five thousand men, destined for the conquest of Rhode-Island, had gone up the river in the transports
they

they were aboard of, the junction of the two corps might have been effected without opposition even in Philadelphia itself, and the new republic had been stifled in that important and celebrated city which gave it birth.

At this time, perhaps, reproaches were cast on the English general for being timid and too circumspect in the operations of the campaign. Certain it is, however, that he was rash enough in the distribution of his winter-cantonments. They were disposed in such a manner, as if there remained not in America a single individual, who had either inclination or power to molest them.

This presumption encouraged the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, collected together and reunited for the support of the common cause.

On the 25th of December they crossed the Delaware, and fell accidentally upon Trenton, which was occupied by fifteen hundred of the twelve thousand Hessians, sold in so base a manner, by their avaricious master, to the King of Great Britain. This corps was massacred, taken, or entirely dispersed. Eight days after three English regiments were in like manner driven from Prince-town, but after having better supported their reputation than the foreign troops in their pay.

These unexpected events reduced the enemies of America, in the Jerseys, to the necessity of confining their posts to Amboy and Brunswick, where yet they were exceedingly harrassed during the remainder of the winter.

The effect of strong passions, and of great dangers, is often to astonish the mind, and to throw it into that kind of torpor that deprives it of the use of its powers; by degrees it recovers and collects itself; all its faculties, suspended for a moment, display themselves with redoubled vigour: every spring of action is awakened, and it feels its powers rise at once to a level with the difficulties it has to encounter. In a great multitude there are always some who feel this immediate effect, which rapidly communicates itself to others. Such a revolution took place amongst the confederate states. It caused armed men to issue from all quarters.

It was very late before the campaign of 1777 was opened. The English army, in despair of penetrating into Pennsylvania by way of the Jerseys, at last embarked on the 23d of July, and, by the bay of Chesapeake, landed in a country which their generals may very justly be reproached for not having invaded the year before. Their march is uninterrupted, till they reach Brandywine. There, on the 11th of September, they attack and beat the Americans, and arrive on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned on the 25th by the Congress, and a few days later or sooner by the greatest number of the inhabitants.

This victory is attended with no consequences. The conqueror sees nothing around him but hatred and devastation. Pent up in a space extremely circumscribed, he meets with insurmountable obstacles in extending himself over an uncultivated country. Even his gold affords him not its usual resources in the neighbouring districts, nor is there a possibility of any supplies, but what must necessarily cross the seas. The irksomeness of an imprisonment of nine months duration, determined him to regain New York by way of the Jerseys; and, under the command of Clinton, successor to Howe, this long and dangerous retreat was effected, without sustaining so much loss as a more experienced enemy would have occasioned.

While the English were wasting away their time in Pennsylvania, an important scene opens itself in the more northern part of America. In the month of May, 1776, Carleton had driven the provincials out of Canada, and in October destroyed the armed sloops which they had constructed on the Lake Champlain. This success drew Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July in the following year. At his approach, a garrison, consisting of four thousand men, abandoned this important post, with the loss of their rear-guard, their artillery, and ammunition.

The English general was naturally presumptuous. A weakness so extraordinary increased his arrogance. He had conceived the design of reuniting the troops of Canada with those of New York by Hudson's bay. This project was bold and great. Had he succeeded,

he would have cut North America in two, and perhaps, have ended the war. But, to have had success, it would have been necessary, that whilst one army was going down, the other should have gone up the river. Having failed in this idea, Burgoyne ought to have seen, from the very first steps of it, that his enterprize was chimerical. At every march it became more and more so. His communications grew more distant; his provisions less abundant. The Americans, taking heart again, assembled from all parts round him. At length this unlucky body of men found themselves caught, on the 13th of October, at Saratoga; and nations learned with astonishment, that six thousand of the best disciplined troops of the old hemisphere, had laid down their arms before the husbandmen of the new, conducted by the fortunate Gates. Those who remembered that the Swedes, under Charles the Twelfth, till then invincible, had capitulated before the Russians, yet uncivilized, did not accuse the English troops, but only blamed the imprudence of their general.

This event, so decisive in the opinion of our politicians, was of no greater consequence than that with which other actions, less favourable to the American arms, had been attended. After three years of fighting, massacre, and devastation, the state of things was scarcely changed from what it had been a fortnight after the commencement of hostilities. Let us endeavour to discover the causes of so strange a singularity.

GREAT BRITAIN, accustomed to storms at home, saw not at first all the danger there might be in the tempest which was rising in her remote possessions. For a long time her troops had been insulted at Boston; an authority, independent of hers, had been formed in the province of Massachusetts. The other colonies were making dispositions to follow this example, had not the administration taken those great objects into their serious consideration. When they were laid before parliament, both houses were filled with clamour; and much declamation followed, after much de-

Why the English did not succeed in bringing the confederate provinces to submission.

clamation that had gone before. The senate of the nation decreed, at last, that the country which was rebellious to its decrees, should by force be made obedient; but this violent resolution was executed with the slowness too frequent in states of freedom.

England thought, in general, that coasts without defence, that countries entirely open, could not resist her fleets and armies; nay, her statesmen boldly averred in parliament, that the Americans were poltroons, and would fall an easy victim to the gallantry of a British army. It did not appear to her that this expedition could be of sufficient duration to give time to the peaceful husbandmen of America to learn the art of war. It was forgotten that the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the swamps, the want of provision, in proportion as advances were made into the country, and an infinity of other natural obstructions, militating against a rapid progress in a region three-fourths uncultivated, and which must be considered as new, should have made a part of the calculation.

Success was still more retarded by the influence of moral causes.

Great Britain is the region of party. Her kings have generally seemed to be well enough convinced of the necessity of leaving public affairs to the management of the prevailing faction, by which they were conducted commonly with intelligence and with vigour, because the principal agents of which it was composed were animated by a common interest. Besides, to public spirit, which reigns more in England than in any other government of Europe, was added the power of a faction, and that spirit of party which moves mens minds so powerfully, because it is always the effect of passion. To rid himself of this restraint, George III. composed his council of detached, unconnected members. This innovation was not attended with any very great inconveniencies, as long as events rolled round in their common course. But as soon as a war with America had complicated a machine which was not before too simple, it was perceived that it had neither that strength, nor that union, which are so necessary for the execution of great affairs. The wheels, too far asunder, wanted,

as we may say, a centre of motion, and a common impulse. They went sluggishly and precipitately, by turns. The administration too much resembled that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action proceeds not from the head of an intelligent and active monarch, who brings together all the springs under his own hand. There was no longer any consistency in the enterprises undertaken, any more than in the execution of them.

A ministry, without harmony and concord, was exposed to the incessantly renewed attacks of a body of enemies, united, close, and firm. Its resolutions, be they what they would, were sure to be combated by reasoning or by ridicule. It was reproached for having been severe with the distant members of the state. Even they who in parliament were the most outrageous against the treatment which had been shewn to the Americans; they who most encouraged them to resistance; they who, perhaps, secretly sent them succour, were as averse to their independence as the very ministers whom they laboured without ceasing to remove or vilify. Could the opposition have succeeded in disgusting the king with his confidants, or have obtained the sacrifice of them by the cry of the nation, the project of subjugating America had still been followed, but with more dignity, more force, and perhaps with measures better planned. As the reduction of the revolted provinces was not to be their work, they rather wished that this immense part of the British empire might be separated from it, than that it should be reunited to it by any other hands than theirs.

The activity of the generals repaired not the vice of these contrarieties, and the delays in consequence. They indulged the soldier with too long repose; they employed in meditating, the time for acting; they approached new-raised men with the precaution they would have taken before veteran troops. The English, who have so much impetuosity in party, are of a cool and calm character in other things. They are only to be agitated by violent passions. When this spring is wanting, they move slow enough to count their steps. They then govern themselves by the temper of their mind, which, in general.

general, if we except the arts of imagination and taste, is, in every thing else, methodical and wise. In war, their valour never loses sight of principles, or leaves much to chance. Rarely do they leave, either on their flanks or in their rear, any thing which may give them trouble. This system has its advantages, particularly in a close and narrow country, in a country set thick with strong holds and fortified towns. But in the present circumstances, and upon the vast continent of America, against a people who should not have had time allowed them for their being fortified, or inured to war, the perfection of the art, perhaps, had been to have forgot it, and to substitute, in its stead, the rapid and impetuous march, and the mighty darings which at once astonish, strike, and overcome. It was, above all, in the first moments, that it would have been necessary to impress upon the Americans, not the terror of such ravages as affect a people, armed for their liberty, more with indignation than with fear; but that dread which is struck from a superiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people, of the old world, should naturally be supposed to carry to the new. The confidence of victory had soon been victory itself. But by too much circumspection, by their too servile attachment to rules and principles, skilful leaders failed of rendering to their country the service it expected from them, and which it had a right to expect from them.

The troops, on their side, did not press their commanders to lead them on. They were just come from a country, where the cause which had sent them across the seas, made no impression. It was, in the eyes of the people, but a broil which could not have any serious consequence. They confounded the debates it occasioned in parliament with other debates, often of the most trifling nature. It was not talked of; or if some persons entertained themselves with it, they were not more earnest about it than about those pieces of news, which, in great cities, occupy the idleness of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itself to the defenders of its rights. They would even have been afraid, perhaps, to gain too decisive advantages over countrymen, who had taken arms but to keep themselves

selfes from chains. In all the monarchies of Europe, the soldier is but an instrument of despotism, and has its disposition. He considers himself as belonging to the throne, and not to the country; and a hundred thousand armed men, are but a hundred thousand disciplined and formidable slaves. The habit even of exercising the empire of force, that empire to which all gives way, contributes to extinguish in them every spark of the love of liberty. At length, the military government and subordination, which moves thousands of arms by a single voice, which permits no asking, nor seeing, nor judging, nor thinking; and at the first signal, makes it a law to kill or die, compleats the work of changing these sentiments into principles, which make what may be called the morals of their state. It is not so in England. The influence of the constitution is so great, that it extends itself even to the troops. There, a man is a citizen before he is a soldier. Public opinion, conforming itself to the constitution, honours one of these titles, and lightly regards the other. Thus we see, by the history of the revolutions and tempests by which that turbulent island has been torn, that the English soldier, though enlisted for life, preserves for political liberty a passion, of which an idea is not easily to be formed in our countries of slaves.

How should the ardour which was wanting in the British troops have animated the Hessians, the Brunswickers, and the other Germans ranking under the same banners, all equally discontented with the princes who had sold them, with the sovereign who had bought them, with the nation which paid their wages, and with their comrades, who treated their mercenariness with contempt? These brave men were not hearty in a quarrel in which they were unconcerned: Besides, they had also brothers in the enemy's camp, to whom they dreaded to give death, and from whose hand a wound would have grieved them with a double pain.

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acquisitions made in the East Indies : all these means of wealth had, without interruption, accumulated in Great Britain, prodigious riches. These riches kindled the desire of new enjoyments. The great went to acquire them in foreign countries, and, above all, in France; and brought home the poison to their country. From the higher conditions, it flowed down into all the classes, even to the lowest. To a character of plainness, simplicity, haughtiness and reserve, succeeded a taste for ostentation, dissipation, and gallantry. Travellers who had formerly visited this island so renowned, thought themselves in another climate. The contagion had spread to the troops. They carried with them to the new hemisphere the passion which they had contracted in the old, for gaming, for soft accommodation, and good living. In departing from their coast, they should have renounced the superfluities of which they were enamoured. This taste for luxury, this ardour, so much the more violent as it was new, did not encourage them to pursue, into the interior part of the country, an enemy ever ready to plunge into it for shelter. Ye new politicians, who advance with so much confidence, that manners have no influence on the fate of nations; that, with regard to them, the measure of greatness is that of riches; that the pleasures of peace and the voluptuousness of the citizen cannot weaken the effect of those great machines called armies, and of which the European discipline has, according to your account, so perfected the infallible and tremendous operations : you, who to support your opinion, must turn away your eyes from the ashes of Carthage and the ruins of Rome, upon the recital I am making to you, suspend your judgment, and believe it possible, that there may be opportunities of success which are lost by luxury. Be assured, that, even to courageous troops, independence on wants has been often the chief cause of conquest. It is too easy perhaps to brave only death. For nations corrupted by opulence a severer trial is reserved, that of supporting the loss of their pleasures.

Add to all these reasons, that the means of war seldom arrived, across such a length of sea, in the convenient season for action. Add, that the councils of

George

George III. were determined to have too much influence in military operations which were to be executed at such a distance from them; and you will know the greatest part of the obstacles by which the ruinous efforts of the mother-country against the freedom of her colonies were opposed.

BUT how happened it that America did not herself repulse from her shores these Europeans who were bringing to her chains or death?

This new world was defended by regular troops, which at first had been enlisted but for three or six months, and afterwards for three years, or as long as hostilities might continue. It was defended by citizens who took the field only when their particular province was invaded or menaced. Neither this army always on foot, nor this militia casually assembled, had a military turn. They were farmers, traders, lawyers, exercised only in the arts of peace, and conducted to danger by guides as little versed as their subalterns in the very complicated science of war. In this state of things, what hope could they have of measuring themselves with advantage against veterans in discipline, formed to evolutions, instructed in tactics, and abundantly provided with all the instruments necessary to a vigorous attack, to an obstinate defence?

Enthusiasm alone might have surmounted these difficulties: but did there in reality exist more enthusiasm in the colonies than in the mother-country?

The general opinion in England, was, that the parliament had the inherent right of taxing every country which made a part of the British Empire. Perhaps, in the beginning of the troubles, not a hundred individuals were to be found who would have called this authority in question. Yet no anger was excited by the refusal of the Americans to acknowledge it. No hatred was borne towards them, even after they had taken arms in support of their pretensions. As the labours of the people in the interior part of the kingdom were not affected by it, as the storm murmured but at distance, every one

Why the confederate provinces did not succeed in driving the English from the continent of America.

was peaceably employed in minding his own affairs, or gave himself up without disturbance to his pleasures. They all waited for the conclusion of the drama without impatience, as if already certain of what was to be exhibited in the unravelling of the plot.

The ferment must be supposed to have shewn itself at first much greater in the new hemisphere than in the old. Is ever the odious name of *tyranny*, or the grateful sound of *independence*, pronounced to nations without communicating to them that warmth which produces motion? But did that warmth sustain itself? Had the first vehemence of imagination lasted, must not the repressing of excesses have occupied the attention of the new authority? But so far from having cause to withhold courage, it had cowardice to pursue. It was seen to punish desertion with death, staining the standard of liberty with blood. It was seen to refuse admitting of an exchange of prisoners, for fear of augmenting the inclination of the troops to surrender at the first summons. It was seen reduced to the necessity of erecting tribunals for the prosecution of the generals or their lieutenants who should too rashly give up the posts which their vigilance ought to guard. It is true, that a hoary patriot, of fourscore years, who was desired to return to his fire side, cried out, *My death will be of use; I shall shield with my body a younger man.* It is true, that Putnam said to a royalist his prisoner, *Return to thy commander, and if he asks thee, how many troops I have? tell him that I have enough; that, even if he should beat them, I should have still enough; and that he will find, in the event, that I have too many for him and for the tyrants whom he serves.* These sentiments were heroic, but they were rare; and they became every day less common.

The intoxication was never general; and it could be but momentary. None of those energetic causes, which have produced so many revolutions upon the globe, existed in North America. Neither religion nor laws had there been outraged. The blood of martyrs or patriots had not there streamed from scaffolds. Morals had not been there insulted. Manners, customs, habits, none of those objects so dear to nations had there been the sport
of

of ridicule. Arbitrary power had not there torn any inhabitant from the arms of his family and his friends, to drag him to the horrors of a dungeon. Public order had not been there inverted. The principles of administration had not been changed there; and the maxims of government had there always remained the same. The whole question was reduced to the knowing whether the mother country had, or had not, the right to lay directly, or indirectly, a slight tax upon the colonies: for the accumulated grievances in the manifesto were only valid in consequence of this leading grievance. This, almost metaphysical question, was scarcely of sufficient importance to cause the multitude to rise, or at least to interest them strongly in a quarrel for which they saw their land deprived of the hands destined to its cultivation, their harvests laid waste, their fields covered with the dead bodies of their kindred, or stained with their own blood. To these calamities, the work of the royal troops upon the coast, were soon added more insupportable ones in the heart of the country.

Never had the restlessness of the courts of London and Versailles disturbed the tranquillity of North America, but both these powers brought some of the wandering nations in this part of the new hemisphere to partake in their sanguinary strife. Having learned by experience the weight which these hordes could add to the scale, the English and the colonists were equally resolved to employ them for their mutual destruction.

Carleton tried, first, to arm these barbarous hands in Canada. "It is the dispute," said they in answer to his solicitations, "of a father with his children; we do not think it right for us to enter into this domestic squabble."—"But if the rebels should come to attack this province, would not you assist us in driving them back?"—"Ever since the peace the hatchet of war has been buried forty fathoms deep."—"You would certainly find it, if you were to dig for it."—"The helve of it is rotten, and we cannot make any use of it."

The United States were not more fortunate. "We have heard of some differences that have happened between Old and New England (said the tribe of the Oneidas

“ Oneidas to their deputies) but we shall never take a
 “ part in such atrocious divisions. War between bre-
 “ thren is a strange and a new thing in these regions.
 “ Our traditions have left us no example of this na-
 “ ture. Suppress your mad hatred; and may a bene-
 “ volent sun disperse the black vapour in which you
 “ are involved!”

The Mafphies alone seemed to interest themselves in the cause of the Americans. “ There, (said these
 “ good savages to them) there’s sixteen shillings for you.
 “ ’Tis all that we have. We thought to have bought
 “ some rum with it; we’ll drink water. We’ll go a
 “ hunting.—If any beasts fall by our arrows, we’ll sell
 “ their skins, and bring you the money.”

But, in time, the very active agents of Great Britain, by means of immense presents, succeeded in conciliating to it many nations of these aborigines. Its interests were preferred to those of its enemies, as well because the remoter distance had prevented the savages from having received so many outrages from it as from their proud neighbours, as because it could and would better pay the services which might be rendered to its cause. Under its standard, these allies, whose characteristic fierceness knew no restraint, did a hundred times more damage to the colonists settled near the mountains, than had been suffered from the royal troops, by those of their fellow-citizens whom a happier destiny had fixed upon the confines of the ocean.

These calamities affected but a more or less considerable number of the members of the United States; but they were all, soon after, collectively, afflicted by an interior evil.

The metals, which throughout the whole globe represent all the articles of commerce, had, in this part of the new world, never been very plentiful. The small quantity of them which had been seen there, disappeared even at the commencement of hostilities. To these signs, so universally agreed upon, were substituted signs peculiar to these provinces. Silver and gold were replaced by paper. In order to give some dignity to the new pledge, it was adorned with emblems, which might continually remind the people of the greatness of their undertaking,

undertaking, of the inestimable price of liberty, and of the necessity of a perseverance superior to all sufferings. The artifice did not succeed. These ideal riches were rejected. The more the multiplication of them was urged by necessity, the greater did their depreciation grow. The congress fretted at the affronts given to its money, and declared all those to be traitors to their country who should not receive it as they would have received gold itself.

Did not this body know, that prepossessions are no more to be controuled than feelings? Did it not perceive, that in the present crisis every rational man would be afraid of exposing his fortune? Did it not see, that at the beginning of a republic it countenanced the exercise of such acts of despotism as are unknown even in the countries which are moulded to, and become familiar with, servitude and oppression? Could it pretend that it did not punish a want of confidence with the pains which would have been scarcely merited by revolt and treason? The congress was well aware of all this. But it had no choice of means. Its despised and despicable scraps of paper were actually thirty times below their original value, when more of them were ordered to be made. On the 13th of September, 1779, there was of this paper money, amongst the public, to the amount of 799,744,000 livres*. The state owed, moreover, 188,670,525 livres†, without reckoning the particular debts of single provinces‡.

* 34,988,800 l. Sterling. † 8,254,335 l. 9 s. 4½ d. Sterling.

‡ What the amount of the American paper-currency now is, it is impossible to say; but, if accounts from New-York be credited, it has long since more than doubled or tripled this sum, while we are assured by the Refugees, that it is in such disrepute, that 150 paper dollars may be had, nay, some of their accounts say, that 1100 have been given for one silver one. On the other hand, we must consider, that there never was so much specie in America as at present; the immense sums spent by the British and French armies; the great loans procured by Congress from the subjects of Holland, France, and Spain, must have greatly increased the hard money of America; though those into whose possession this money comes, will keep a watchful eye over it till a pacific system takes place.

The people were not compensated for this domestic scourge, as it might be called, by an easy communication with all the other parts of the world. Their navigation with Europe, with the West Indies, and with all the latitudes which their vessels covered, had been intercepted by Great Britain. Then, they said to the universe, "It is the English name which makes us odious; we solemnly abjure it. All men are our brethren. We are the friends of all nations. Every flag may, without fear of insult, shew itself upon our coasts, and frequent our ports." An invitation, so seducing in appearance, was not complied with. Those states which are truly commercial ones, knowing that North America had been reduced to contract debts at the epoch even of her greatest prosperity, thought wisely that in her present distress she would be able to pay but very little for what might be carried to her. The French alone, who dare every thing, dared to brave the inconveniencies of this new connection. But, by the judicious vigilance of Admiral Lord Howe, the greatest part of the ships which they sent out were taken before they arrived at the places of their destination, and the others at their departure from the American coasts. Of many hundreds of vessels which sailed from France, twenty-five or thirty only returned back to it; and even those brought no profit, or very little, to their owners.

A multitude of privations, added to so many other misfortunes, might make the Americans regret their former tranquility, and incline them to an accommodation with England. In vain had the people been bound to the new government by the sacredness of oaths, and the influence of religion. In vain had endeavours been used to convince them of the impossibility of treating safely with a country in which one parliament might overturn what should have been established by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal resentment of an exasperated and vindictive enemy. It was possible that these distant troubles might not be balanced by the weight of present evils.

So thought the British ministry, when they sent to the new world public agents, authorised to offer every thing

thing except independence to these very Americans, from whom they had two years before exacted an unconditional submission. It is not improbable but that this plan of conciliation, a few months sooner, might have produced some effect: But at the period at which it was proposed by the court of London, it was rejected with disdain, because this measure appeared but as an argument of fear and weakness. The people had by this time assumed fresh courage. The congress, the generals, the troops, the bold and skilful men who in each colony had possessed themselves of the authority; every thing had recovered its first spirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and the Court of Versailles, signed the 6th of February 1778.*.

IF

* "The Most Christian King, and the United States of North America, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusets Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their subjects and citizens, have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements, and rendering them useful to the safety and tranquillity of the two parties; particularly in case Great Britain, in resentment of that connection, and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty should break the peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting between the two crowns.—And his Majesty and the said United States having resolved in that case to join their councils and efforts against the enterprizes of their common enemy,

"The respective plenipotentiaries, empowered to concert the clauses and conditions proper to fulfil the said intentions, have, after the most mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles:

ART. I. "If war should break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

France acknowledges the independence of the United States.

This measure occasions the war between this crown and that of England.

If the British ministry had reflected upon it, they would have comprehended that the same delirium which was drawing them to attack their colonies was reducing them to the necessity of declaring war in the same instant against France. Then prevailed in the councils of this crown the circumspection which must always be inspired by a new reign. Then the finances were still in the confusion into which they had been plunged by a madness of twenty years. Then the decayed condition of the navy was such as filled every citizen with disquiet. Then Spain, already fatigued with her extravagant expedition of Algiers, found herself in embarrassments which would not have permitted

H. "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government, as of commerce.

III. "The two contracting parties shall, each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against their common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

IV. "The contracting parties agree, that in case either of them should form any particular enterprize in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the party whose concurrence is desired, shall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular situation will permit; and, in that case, they shall regulate by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of succour to be furnished, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compensation.

V. "If the United States should think fit to attempt the reduction of the British power remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands, in case of success, shall be confederated with, or dependent upon the said United States.

VI. "The Most Christian King renounces forever the possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of North America, which, before the treaty of Paris 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately

permitted her to run to the succour of her ally. And then might England, without rashness, have promised herself success against the most powerful of her enemies, and to intimidate America by victories gained, or conquests

" lately been, under the power of the King and Crown of Great Britain.

VII. " If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the islands situated in the Gulf of Mexico, or near that Gulf, which are, at present, under the power of Great Britain, all the said isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the Crown of France.

VIII. " Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war.

IX. " The contracting parties declare that, being resolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after-claims of compensation on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

X. " The Most Christian King and the United States agree to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to, and settled between all the parties.

XI. " The two parties guarantee mutually from the present time, and for ever, against all other powers, to wit,—The United States to his Most Christian Majesty the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his Most Christian Majesty guarantees, on his part, to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions, now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the fifth and sixth articles above written, the whole as their possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

XII. " In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that, in case of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the said article shall have its

quests made near home. The importance that it was of, for this crown to take away from its rebellious subjects the only support of which they might be assured, would have diminished the indignation inspired by a violation of the most solemn treaties.

George III. saw nothing of all this. The obscure succours which the Court of Versailles sent to the provinces armed for the defence of their rights, did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of France were filling with shipwrights. Her arsenals were filling with artillery. Scarcely was there room remaining in her magazines for more naval stores. Her ports presented the most menacing appearance; and this strange blindness still continued. To awaken the Court of St James's from its lethargy, it was necessary that Lewis XVI. should signify to it, on the 14th of March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States.

This signification was a declaration of war. It was impossible that a nation, more accustomed to give than receive provocation, could patiently look on, whilst another nation was loosening its subjects from their bonds of allegiance, and raising them up with much parade to the rank of sovereign powers. All Europe foresaw that two states, in rivalry for ages, were about to tinge the waters of the ocean with their blood, and again play that dreadful game, in which public successes will never compensate for particular disasters. They in whom ambition had not extinguished all benevolence for their fellow-creatures, deplored beforehand the calamities, which, in either hemisphere, were ready to fall upon the human race.

The bloody scene, notwithstanding, did not open yet; and this delay gave credulous people a ground of hope, that peace would still continue. It was not known.

" full force and effect the moment such war shall break out;
 " and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantees shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England shall have ascertained their possessions.
 XIII. " The present treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible. In faith whereof, &c."

known that a fleet, which had sailed from Toulon, was commissioned to attack the English in North-America. It was not known that orders had been dispatched from London to drive the French from the East Indies. Without being initiated in those mysteries of perfidy, which insidious politics are arrived at, regarding them as master-pieces of state policy, judicious men supposed that hostilities must be inevitable, and on the point of taking place, even in our ocean. This event, which had been foreseen, was brought on by the engagement of two frigates; on the 17th of June, 1778.

Here our task becomes more and more difficult. Our sole object is utility, and truth. Far be from us that spirit of party which blinds and degrades those who are the conductors, and those who dare aspire to be the instructors, of mankind. Our prayers are for our country; our homage is to justice. We honour virtue, in whatever place, in whatever form, she may be seen: the distinctions of condition and of nation cannot estrange us from her; and the man who is just and magnanimous is our countryman all over the world. If in the different events which pass under our eyes, we blame with boldness what appears to us blame-worthy, we seek not the vain and sorry pleasure of casting indiscreet reproach. But we are speaking to nations and to posterity. We ought faithfully to transmit to them what may be of consequence to the public good. We ought to give them the history of errors, to teach them how they may be shunned. Should we dare to be traiterously wanting to so noble a duty, we might, perhaps, flatter the generation which passeth away; but truth and justice, which are eternal, would impeach us to future generations, who would read our work with contempt, and pronounce not our name but with disdain. In this long career we shall be just to those who still exist, as we have been to those who exist no more. If, amongst the men of power, there are any who are offended at this freedom, let us not be afraid to tell them, that we are but the organs of a supreme tribunal, which reason is erecting upon a basis that cannot be shaken. There is no longer a government in Europe who should not stand in awe of its determinations. Public opinion, which is becoming

becoming more and more informed, and which nothing has power to arrest or intimidate, has its eyes open upon nations and their courts. It penetrates into the cabinets where policy would lie hid. There it judges the depositaries of power, their weaknesses and their passions; and, by the empire of genius and knowledge, raises itself, on all sides, above the ministers of kings, to incite or to restrain them. Woe to them who despise or brave it! This seeming courage is weakness in reality. Woe to them whose talents are not sufficient to look it in the face. Let such, that they may once do justice, at least to themselves, lay down the burthen too heavy for their feeble shoulders. They will cease to expose themselves and the nations they pretend to serve.

France began the war with inestimable advantages. The time, the place, the circumstances, she had the choice of. It was not till after she had, at leisure, made her preparations, till after she had increased her power to the proper pitch, that she shewed herself upon the field of battle. She had only to combat an enemy who was humbled, weakened, and discouraged by domestic dissensions. The wishes of other nations were with her, against those imperious masters, or, as they were called, those tyrants of the ocean.

Events seemed to correspond to the desire of Europe. The French officers, who had old humiliations to wipe away, performed brilliant actions, the remembrance of which will be of long duration. Great theoretic knowledge, and steady courage, supplied what might be wanting in them from practice and experience. All the single engagements, of ship to ship, did them the highest honour, and most of them terminated to their advantage. The British fleet ran still greater danger than separate vessels. It was so roughly treated as to have cause to fear being wholly, or a part of it, destroyed; had not the French fleet, by which it was reduced, off Ushant, to this almost despairing state, been destined, from timid orders, from odious intrigues, from the weaknesses of its admirals, or from all these motives together, to quit the sea, and be the first to make for port.

In the intoxication of this, perhaps, unexpected success, France seemed to lose sight of her dearest interest. Her principal object should have been to intercept the commerce of her enemies, cutting the double nerve of their strength, their seamen, and their wealth, and to sap, at once, the two foundations of English greatness. Nothing could have been more easy for a power a long while prepared for hostilities, than to intercept fleets of merchantmen, quite unprepared, and very feebly conveyed. This was not done. The immense riches expected by Great Britain, from all parts of the globe, entered peaceably into her harbours, without suffering the smallest diminution.

The commerce of France, on the contrary, was harassed in both the hemispheres, and every where intercepted. Her colonies saw ravished from them, on their very coasts, the means of subsistence, to welcome which they were reaching out their arms with all the eagerness of want; whilst the mother country was deprived of about 80, or 100 millions *, arrived almost in her sight. This reverse was not without a cause. Let us endeavour to discover it.

The French navy had been a long time unsuccessful; and it was to the badness of its constitution that so many misfortunes had been ascribed. Many attempts had been made to modify or change the regulations of it; but these innovations, good or bad, were always repelled with a more or less strongly marked disdain. At length its admirals dictated themselves, in 1776, a disposition, which rendering them absolute masters of the roads or anchoring-places, of the arsenals, of the dock-yards, and the magazines, destroyed that mutual inspection, which Lewis XIV. thought there should be established between the military officers and those of the administration. From that time there was no longer any responsibility, regulation, or œconomy in the ports. Every thing there fell into disorder and confusion.

The new plan had an influence that was still more unlucky. Till this period it was the ministry who had

* 3,500,000 l. Sterling.

4,375,000 l. Sterling.

directed the naval operations towards the end aimed at by their politics. This authority passed, perhaps, almost without being perceived, to those who were to execute these operations, which took insensibly a tincture from their prejudices. These prejudices inclined them to think, that it was not in heavily and laboriously conveying the ships of their nation, or in remaining out upon difficult cruizes, to surprize or destroy those of the enemy, that fame was to be acquired. This double duty, therefore, was entirely neglected, or very ill performed, in consequence of a common opinion at Brest, that such a service had nothing noble in it, and did not lead to any kind of glory.

It must be confessed, that this prejudice is a very odd one, and quite contrary to all the laws of society. What can be supposed to have been the design of states in instituting this military force destined to scour the seas? Was it only to procure promotions for those who command or serve? Only to give them opportunities of exercising a valour useless to every body but themselves? Only to stain red another element with carnage and battles? No, surely. Fleets of war upon the ocean, are what fortresses and ramparts are for inhabitants of cities; what the national armies are for provinces exposed to incursions of the foe. There are some sorts of property attached to the soil; there are others which are created, transported by commerce, and, as they may be called, wandering on the ocean. Both these sorts of property want defenders. Warriors, that is your function. What would be said, if the land forces should refuse to protect from the ravages of the enemy the inhabitants of cities, the cultivators of fields, and to extinguish the fire threatened to the harvest? Naval officers, you think yourselves debased by conveying and protecting commerce. But if commerce is to be no longer protected, what will become of the wealth of the state, of which, without doubt, you expect a part, in recompense of your service? What will become of your own property, in the revenue of your land, which commerce and the circulation of wealth chiefly contribute to render fruitful? You think yourselves debased. What, debased in making yourself useful to your countrymen!

trymen! And what are all the orders in the state, to whom government has committed any portion of the public power, but protectors and defenders of your countrymen and their wealth? Your post is upon the ocean, as that of the magistrate upon the bench, that of the officer and the soldier in the camp, and that of the monarch himself upon the throne, where he commands from a higher station but to take a wider survey, and comprize, at one view, all those who stand in need of his protection and defence. You aspire at glory. Know that glory is to be gleaned in every field on which a service to your country can be performed. Know, that to preserve is more glorious, as well as more blessed, than to destroy. In ancient Rome no doubt, there were also admirers of glory. Yet, there, the glory of having saved a single citizen, was preferred to the glory of having slain a host of foes. What, do ye not see, that in saving the commercial ships, you save the fortune of the state? Yes, your valour is splendid; it is known to Europe as well as to your country; but what boots it to your countrymen, that it has been displayed upon occasions of eclat, that it has brought the ship of your enemy in tow, or blown its ruins wide upon the waves, if by your neglect, you have suffered to perish, or be taken, the ships which bear your country's riches; if, in the very port, which you triumphantly re-enter, a thousand desolate families deplore their fortunes lost? On your landing, instead of hearing the shouts of victory, you will be received with silence and dejection; and your exploits will be destined but to swell the recital of a court-gazette, and those public papers, which, in amusing idleness, give glory but for a day, when that glory is not graven upon the hearts of your fellow-citizens, by the remembrance of real utility to the common good.

The maxims sacred at Portsmouth were very different. There was felt, there was respected, the dignity of commerce. There, it was both a duty and an honour to defend it; and events have decided on which side the two naval officers had the justest ideas of their function.

Great

Great Britain had just experienced a very humiliating reverse in the new world, and a more powerful enemy threatened her with greater disasters in the old. This alarming situation filled all minds with uncertainty and distrust. The national riches arrive. Those of the rival power add to the enormous mass; and instantly public credit is reanimated; hope springs up again, and this people, who were contemptuously thought to be brought down, resume, and sustain, their usual prowess and their usual pride.

The ports of France, on the contrary, are filled with lamentations. A shameful and ruinous inaction succeeded to an activity which contributed to their fame and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itself to the whole nation. The first moments of success are always moments of intoxication, in which faults seem to be justified as well as hid. But misfortune gives more severity to judgment. The nation then observes more nearly those who are at the helm of affairs, and loudly calls for an account of the employment of the power and authority which have been committed to them. The councils of Lewis XVI. are reproached, for having wounded the majesty of the first power on the globe, in disavowing, to the face of the universe, the succours which were constantly sent to the Americans in a clandestine manner. They are reproached for having, by a ministerial intrigue, or, by the ascendancy of some obscure agents, engaged the nation in a ruinous war, whilst they should have been occupied in putting the springs of government again in order, in healing the tedious wounds of a reign, of which the latter half was divided between depredation and shame, between the baseness of vice and the convulsions of despotism. They are reproached, for having provoked the contest by insidious politics, for having screened themselves by manifestoes unworthy of France; for having employed with England the language of a timid audacity, which seems to disown and contradict the projects which are formed, and the sentiments which are uppermost in the heart; a language which can only debase him from whom it proceeds, without deceiving him to whom it is addressed; and, whilst it brings dishonour,

can

can make that dishonour of no use either to the minister or to the state. How much more noble had it been to say, with all the frankness of dignity, "Englishmen, you have abused your victories. Now is the time for you to shew justice; or it shall be that of vengeance. Europe is weary of enduring tyrants. She re-enters at length upon her rights. Henceforward, equality or war. Chuse." It is thus that they would have been talked to by that Richelieu, whom every citizen, it is true, should hate, because he was an inhuman butcher; and, that he might reign despotic, murdered his enemies with the executioner's axe; but whom as a minister, the nation is bound to honour, as it was he who first shewed France her dignity, and gave her, amongst the states of Europe, the air which became her power. It is thus that they would have been talked to by that Lewis XIV. who, for forty years together, knew how to be worthy of the age to which he gave a name, who mixed greatness with his very faults, who never, even in adversity and abasement, degraded his people or himself. Ah, for governing a great nation, a great character is requisite. There is no fitness for it in those minds which are indifferent and cold from levity, to which absolute authority is but as it were a kind of last amusement, which carelessly leave great interests floating at the caprice of chance, and are more occupied in preserving than employing power. Why, it is asked again, why did men, who hold in their hands all the authority of the state, and have but to command in order to be obeyed, why did they suffer themselves to be anticipated, in all seas, by an enemy whose constitution must of necessity cause slowness in putting their measures in execution? Why did they, by an inconsiderate treaty, tie themselves down to conditions with the Congress, which they might themselves have held in dependence, by ample and regular supplies? Why, in short, did they not strengthen and confirm the revolution, by keeping always, on the northern coasts of America, a squadron which might protect the colonies, and, at the same time, make our alliance to be respected? But Europe, who has her eyes fixed upon us, sees a great design, and no concerted measures; sees, in our arsenals

and our ports, immense preparations, and no execution; sees menacing fleets fitted out, and the pompous expence of them rendered almost useless; sees spirit and valour in subalterns, irresolution and timidity in chiefs; sees whatever proclaims, on one hand, the strength and the commanding power of a great people; and on the other, the slackness and weakness inseparable from its character and views. It is by this striking contrast between our projects and their execution, between our means and the spirit that directs them, that the genius of England, stunned for a moment, has resumed his vigour; and it is even now a problem for Europe to resolve, if, in declaring for America, we have not ourselves revived and promoted the English power.

Such are the complaints with which all parts of the kingdom ring, and which we are not afraid to collect together here, and lay before the eyes of authority, if it deigns to read or hear them.

In short, philosophy, the first sentiment of which is the desire to see all governments just, and all people happy, in casting her eyes upon this alliance of a monarchy with a people who are defending their liberty, is curious to know its motive. She sees at once, too clearly, that the happiness of mankind has no part in it. She thinks that if the Court of Versailles had been determined by the love of justice, it would have settled in the first article of its convention with America, *that all oppressed people have the right of resisting their oppressors.* But this maxim, which forms one of the laws of England; which a king of Hungary was great enough, when he was ascending the throne, to make one of the constitutions of the state; which was adopted by one of the greatest princes who reigned over the world, Trajan, when he said, before an assembly of the Roman people, to the first officer of the empire, in presenting him with a drawn sword, according to custom, upon investing him with his charge, *Use it for me, if I continue just; against me, if I become tyrannical.* This maxim is too foreign to be adopted by our feeble and corrupted governments, in which the suffering patiently is so much become a duty, that the sufferer ought to deprecate

deprecate a sensation of his misery, lest it be punished as a crime.

But the most bitter complaints are directed above all to Spain. She is blamed for her blindness, her wavering, her tardiness, and sometimes even for her infidelity: all which accusations are ill-founded.

Some politicians imagined, in seeing France engage herself unnecessarily in a naval war, that this crown supposed itself powerful enough to divide the British domain, without sharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We shall not examine whether the spirit which then reigned in the cabinet of Versailles authorised this conjecture. It is now known that this crown, which from the very beginning of the troubles had been secretly sending succour to the Americans, was watching for the propitious moment of declaring openly in their favour. The event of Saratoga appeared to it the most favourable conjuncture for proposing to the Catholic king to make the cause a common one. Whether it were that this prince might then judge the liberty of the United States to be contrary to his interest; whether the resolution might appear to him to be precipitate; or whether, in short, other political objects might require all his attention, he did not agree to the proposal. From his character it was supposed that repeated solicitation would be useless. After the first experiment, he was so little applied to about this great affair, that it was without his being informed of it that the Court of Versailles caused it to be signified at St James's, that it had acknowledged the independence of the confederate provinces.

In the mean time the sea and land forces, which were employed by Spain against the Portuguese in the Brazils, were returned home. The rich fleet which she expected from Mexico was arrived in her ports. The treasures which came to her from Peru, and from her other possessions, were secure. She was free from all inquietude, and mistress of her motions, when she aspired to the glory of being a pacificator between the two hemispheres. Her mediation was accepted, as well by France, whose bold attempts had not been attended with the happy consequences which she had promised herself from

them, as by England, who might fear the having an additional adversary to contend with.

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CHARLES III. sustained [with dignity the great part he had to act. He awarded, that, laying down their arms, each of the belligerent powers should be maintained in the territories which it should occupy at the time of the convention; that a congress should be formed, in which the different pretensions should be discussed; and that no fresh hostilities should commence till after the expiration of a twelve-month's notice.

This monarch was aware that this arrangement gave to Great Britain a facility of bringing about a reconciliation with her colonies, or at least of making them purchase, by great advantages to her commerce, the sacrifice of the ports which she occupied in the midst of them. He was aware that it must wound the dignity of the king his nephew, who had engaged to maintain the United States in the totality of their territory. But he would be just; and without forgetting all personal considerations it is impossible to be so.

This plan of conciliation was displeasing to Versailles, but they were consoled by the hope that it would be rejected at London. This hope was not deceived. England could not resolve upon acknowledging the Americans to be really independent; though they were not to be called to the conferences which were to have taken place; though France could not negotiate for them; though their interests were to have been solely taken care of by a mediator who was not bound to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, at the bottom of his heart, was not desirous of their prosperity; though her refusal threatened her with an enemy the more.

It is in such a circumstance as this; it is in the time when noble pride elevates the soul superior to all terror; when nothing is seen more dreadful than the shame of receiving the law, and when there is no doubt or hesitation which to chuse, between ruin and dishonour; it is then, that the greatness of a nation is displayed.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless I acknowledge that men, accustomed to judge of things by the event, call great and perilous resolutions, heroism or madness, according to the good or bad success with which they have been attended. If then I should be asked, what is the name which shall in years to come be given to the firmness, which the English, in this moment exhibited, I should answer, that I do not know. But that which it deserves, I know. I know that the annals of the world hold out to us but rarely, the august and majestic spectacle of a nation, which chuses rather to renounce its duration than its glory.

The British ministry had no sooner given their determination, than the Court of Madrid espoused the quarrel of that of Versailles, and consequently that of the Americans. Spain had then sixty-three ships of the line, and six upon the stocks. France had eighty of the line, and eight upon the stocks. The United States had but twelve frigates, and a great number of privateers.

To all this united force England had to oppose but ninety-five ships of the line, with twenty-three upon the stocks. The sixteen which were to be seen in her ports, over and above, were unfit for service, and had been converted into prisons or hospitals. Inferior in instruments of war, she was still more so in means of all sorts for their employment. Her domestic dissensions still weakened the resources which remained. It is the nature of governments truly free to be agitated during peace. It is by this intestine motion that the spirits preserve their energy and the continual remembrance of the nation's rights. But in war, all ferments ought to cease, all hatreds to be extinguished, all interests to coalesce and be mutually subservient to the public good. It turned out quite otherwise, at this time, in the British isles. Never were there more violent dissensions. Never did contrary pretensions shew themselves in any circumstance with less reserve. The public good was by either faction audaciously trodden under foot. Those houses of parliament, in which the most important questions had formerly been discussed with eloquence, with dignity, and with power, now rung but with the clat-

mours of rage, but with the grossest insults, but with altercations as hurtful as they were indecent. The few real friends of the nation who were remaining called loudly for another Pitt, for a minister, who, like him, should have *neither relations nor friends*; but this extraordinary man did not appear. And indeed it was pretty generally imagined that this people would now give way, notwithstanding the high-spiritedness of its character, notwithstanding the experience of its admirals, notwithstanding the bravery of its seamen, notwithstanding that energy which a free nation must acquire from vibrating with concussion.

But the empire of chance is a very extensive one. Who knows in favour of which side the elements shall declare? By a gust of wind, is a victory given or snatched away. The discharge of a gun disconcerts a fleet by the death of its commander. Signals are not understood; or are not obeyed. Experience, valour, skill, are thwarted by ignorance, by jealousy, by treachery, by an assurance of impunity. A sudden fog covers contending navies, and separates or confounds them. A tempest or a calm is equally favourable or destructive. Forces are divided by the unequal celerity of ships. The propitious moment is missed, by pusillanimity which lingers, or by rashness, which rushes on. Plans shall have been formed with wisdom; but their success shall fail for want of concert in the execution. By an inconsiderate order of the court, what might have proved a glorious day, is decided with dishonour. Projects are changed by a minister's disgrace or death. Is it possible that a strict union should long subsist among confederates of characters so opposite, as the hasty, sickle, disdainful Frenchman, the jealous, haughty, sly, slow, circumpective Spaniard, and the American, who is secretly snatching looks at the mother-country, and would rejoice at the disasters of his allies, were they compatible with his independence? Will these nations long delay, whether they act separately or conjointly, mutually to accuse, complain, and be embroiled? Ought not their greatest hope to be, that repeated ill-successes may do no more than replunge them into that humiliating state from which they endeavoured to emerge, and firmly

ly fix the trident in the hand of Great Britain; whilst two or three considerable defeats would bring down this ambitious people from ever ranking again amongst the principal powers of the European world?

Who shall decide then, who can foresee the event? France and Spain united have powerful means to employ; England the art of employing her's. France and Spain have their treasures; England, a great national credit. On one side, the multitude of men and troops; on the other, the superiority in the art of working ships, and as it were of subjecting the sea in fighting. Here, impetuosity and valour; there valour and experience. In one party, the activity which absolute monarchy gives to designs; in the other, the vigour and energy which results from liberty. There, losses and grudges to revenge; here, their late glory, with the sovereignty of America, and of the ocean, to recover and preserve. The allied nations have the advantage with which the union of two vast powers must be attended, but they have likewise the inconvenience which must result from this very union, by the difficulty of preserving harmony and concord both in their designs, and in the execution of them by their respective forces. England is abandoned to herself, but having only her own forces to direct, she has the advantage of unity in designs, and of a more sure and perhaps more ready disposition in ideas: she can more easily range her plans of defence and offence under a single view.

In order to weigh the matter with exactness, we should yet put into the scales the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which is, on one side, in a great many respects but a war of kings and ministers; but, on the other, a truly national war, in which the greatest interests of England are concerned; that of a commerce which produces her riches*; that of an empire and a glory which constitute her greatness.

In

* The British commerce at this moment is in as flourishing a condition as at any period preceding this war, (says the great Lord North) than whom none can be a better judge. Our customs have increased, and the Sinking Fund has yielded large surplusses;

In short, if we consider the spirit of the French nation, in opposition to that of the nation with which it is at variance, we shall see that the ardour of the Frenchman is as quickly extinguished as it is inflamed; that he hopes every thing when he begins, that he despairs of every thing as soon as an obstacle retards him; that, from his character, his arm must be nerved by the enthusiasm of success, in order to reap more success; that the Englishman, on the contrary, less presumptuous, notwithstanding his natural boldness, at the beginning, knows how, when occasions call for it, to struggle courageously, to raise himself in proportion as the danger rises, and to gather advantages even from disgrace: like the robust oak to which Horace compares the Romans, which, mutilated by the ax, springs afresh under the strokes which are given it, and draws vigour and spirit from its very losses and its very wounds.

History shews us likewise that few leagues have divided the spoil of the nation against which they have been formed. Athens victorious over Persia; Rome saved from Hannibal; in modern times, Venice escaped from the famous league of Cambray; and, even in our own days, Prussia rendered by the genius of one man capable to cope with Europe, should suspend our judgment upon the issue of the present war.

But let us suppose that the house of Bourbon has the advantages with which it may have been flattered. What ought to be its conduct?

What FRANCE is in all points of view the empire the most strongly constituted, of which *ought to be* any remembrance has been preserved in the *the politics* surpluses; a sure sign that our commerce and our riches are increasing notwithstanding the war. To this declaration of Lord North, it may be added, "Is there a single person unemployed who is willing to work?" Further, the increase of the Baltic trade is such, that the goods exported to the Baltic last year, nearly equal our most extensive exports to America any year of the last peace; and this market is but lately attempted. It is yearly increasing, and will in a short period be superior to our American trade.—*Vide* Smith on the Wealth of Nations, who establishes this point beyond dispute.

annals of the world. Without being able to bear any comparison with her, Spain is likewise a very powerful state, and her means of prosperity are continually increasing. The most important concern then of the house of Bourbon ought to be, to obtain pardon of its neighbours for the advantages which it has from nature, which it owes to art, or which have been bestowed on it by events. Should it endeavour to augment its superiority, the alarm would become general, and it would be thought that an universal slavery was threatened. It is perhaps somewhat to be wondered at, that the other nations of Europe have not yet thwarted it in its projects against England. The resentment which the injustice and the haughtiness of this proud island have every where inspired, must be the cause of this inaction. But hatred is silent when interest appears. It is possible that Europe may think the weakening of Great Britain in the old and the new hemisphere contrary to its safety; and that after having enjoyed the humiliations and dangers of this presumptuous and tyrannic power, she may at length take arms in its defence. Should this be the case, the courts of Versailles and Madrid would see themselves fallen from the hope which they have conceived of having a decisive preponderance upon the globe. These considerations should determine them to hasten their attacks, and not give time, for the forming of new dispositions, to a prophetic or even a jealous policy. Above all, let them stop in time and not suffer an immoderate desire of humbling their common enemy to make them blind to their own interests.

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torious.*

The United States have shewn openly the design of drawing all North America to their league. Many measures, that in particular of inviting the people of Canada to rebellion, have given cause to believe, that this was likewise the wish of France. Spain may be suspected to have equally adopted this idea.

The conduct of the provinces which have shaken off the yoke of Great Britain is simple, and such as might have been expected. But would not their allies be wanting

wanting in foresight, if they should have really the same system?

The new hemisphere must one day be detached from the old. This grand separation is prepared in Europe, by the collision and fermentation of our opinions; by the loss of our rights, which constituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts and the misery of our countries; by the hatred, the endless hatred, between men without heart, honour, or vigour, who possess every thing else, and robust men, and even virtuous men, who have nothing but life to lose. It is prepared in America, by the increase of population, of cultivation, of industry and of knowledge. Every thing forwards this rupture, as well the progress of evil in the old world, as the progress of good in the new.

But would it be good policy in Spain and France, whose possessions in the new world are an inexhaustible source of riches; would it be good policy in them to precipitate this rupture? Now this rupture is the thing that would precisely happen, were all the north of those regions subjected to the same laws, or bound together by a common interest.

No sooner would the liberty of this vast continent be established, than it would become the asylum of all the offscouring amongst us, of men of intriguing, seditious spirits, blasted characters, or ruined fortunes. Culture, arts, commerce, would have no charms for such refugees as these. They must have a less laborious and more agitated life. This turn of mind, equally distant from labour or repose, would direct itself towards conquests; and a passion which has so many attractions would easily captivate the first colonists, diverted from their accustomed occupations by a long war. The new people would have completed their preparations for invasion before the report of it had reached our climates. They would chuse their enemy, the field and the moment of their victories. Their thunder would fall always upon seas without defence, or on coasts taken at unawares. In a little while the Southern provinces would become their prey, and supply, by the riches of their productions, the mediocrity of those of the Northern. Perhaps the possessions of our absolute monarchies

narchies

narchies might even be candidates for the honour of being admitted to a confederacy with a free people, or would detach themselves from Europe, in order to belong but to themselves.

The part which ought to be taken by the courts of Madrid and Versailles, if they are free to chuse, is to let two powers subsist in North America, who may watch, restrain, and counterpoize each other. Then will ages roll away, before England and the republics formed at her expence can come together. This reciprocal distrust will prevent them from any distant enterprise; and the establishments, belonging to other nations in the new world, will enjoy, without disturbance, that tranquillity, which, even down to our own times, has been so often troubled.

In all probability, indeed, this is the very order of things, which would be most suitable even for the confederate provinces themselves. Their respective limits are not regulated. A great jealousy subsists between the countries to the northward and those to the southward. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animosities are observed between the inhabitants of the same town, between the members of the same family. Each would throw off from himself the heavy burden of public debts and expences. A thousand principles of division are generally springing in the bosom of the United States*. When dangers are once at an end, how is the explosion of so many discontented minds, and angred hearts, to be held attached to a common centre? Let the real friends of America reflect upon it, and they will find that the only means to prevent disturbances, amongst that people, is to leave remaining on their frontiers a powerful rival, always disposed to profit by their dissensions.

Monarchies thrive best with peace and security; inquietudes, and formidable enemies, make republics flourish. Rome had need of Carthage; and he who destroyed the Roman liberty was neither Sylla, nor Cæsar;

* Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, establishes this point beyond dispute.

it was the first Cato, when his narrow and austere politics took her rival away from Rome, by lighting, in the senate, those torches which burnt Carthage to the ground. Even Venice, perhaps, would not have preserved her government, and her laws, these four hundred years, had she not had at her door, and almost under her walls, powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies, or her masters.

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ted States?*

BUT, supposing them thus situated, to what degree of happiness, splendour, and power, may the United States in time be raised?

Here, in order to form a sound judgment, let us immediately begin with laying aside the interest which all hearts, not excepting those of slaves, have taken in the generous efforts of a nation who exposed themselves to the most dreadful calamities to be free. The name of *liberty* is so sweet, that all they who fight for it are sure to interest our secret wishes. Their cause is that of the whole human race; it becomes our own. We revenge ourselves of our own oppressors, by giving vent, at least, with liberty, to our hatred against those oppressors who cannot punish it. At the sound of breaking chains, it seems as if our own were about to become lighter; and we think for some moments that we breathe a purer air, in learning that fewer tyrants are to be counted in the world. These great revolutions of liberty, moreover, admonish despots. They warn them not to trust to too long patience in the people, not to trust to impunity without end. Thus, when the laws of society execute vengeance upon the crimes of private individuals, the good man hopes that the punishment of the guilty will, by its terrible example, prevent the commission of new crimes. Terror sometimes supplies the place of justice to the thief, and conscience to the assassin. Such is the source of the warm interest we feel in all the wars of liberty. Such is that with which we have been inspired for the Americans. Our imaginations have been inflamed in their favour. We seem to be present at, and to feel as they do, all their victories and their de-

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feats. The spirit of justice, which is pleased in compensating past misery by happiness to come, is pleased in thinking that this part of the new world cannot fail of becoming one of the most flourishing countries upon the globe. Nay, it has been even supposed, that there is cause to fear lest Europe should one day find her masters in her children. Let us dare to stem the torrent of public opinion, and that of public enthusiasm. Let us not be led astray by imagination, that embellishes all things, nor by passion, which loves to create illusions, and realizes all its hopes. Our duty is to combat every prejudice, should it be even that which is most conformable to the wishes of our heart. To be true, above all things, is our chief concern, and not to betray the pure and upright conscience which presides over our writings, and dictates every judgment that we pass. At this moment, perhaps, we shall not be believed: but a bold conjecture, which is verified at the end of many ages, does more honour to the historian, than the recital of a long series of facts which cannot be contested; and I write not only for my contemporaries, who will but some years survive me; (yet a few revolutions of the sun, and they and I shall be no more) but I deliver over my ideas to posterity and to time. It is for them to judge me.

The space occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the ocean, is but 300 miles; but upon the coast their extent is, in a strait line, about 2000.

In this region the lands are, almost throughout, bad, or of a middling quality. Scarcely any thing but maize grows in the four most northern colonies. The only resource of their inhabitants is a fishery, of which the annual product, in money, does not amount to above six millions of livres*.

Corn sustains principally the provinces of New York, Jersey, and Pennsylvania. But the soil there is so rapidly become worse than it was, that an acre, which formerly yielded full sixty bushels of wheat, now produces but very rarely above twenty.

* 262,500 l. Sterling.

Though the soil of Maryland and Virginia is much superior to all the rest, it cannot be said to be very fruitful. The old plantations do not yield above a third of the tobacco which they formerly produced. It is not possible to form new ones; and the cultivators have been obliged to turn their views towards other objects.

North Carolina produces some corn, but of a quality so inferior, that it is sold for five and twenty or thirty *per cent.* less than the other, in all the markets.

South Carolina and Georgia have a perfectly flat face of country, for the distance of fifty miles from the sea-side. The excessive rains which fall there, finding no means of discharge, form numerous marshes or lakes, in which rice is cultivated, to the great detriment of the slaves and the freemen occupied in this labour. On the intermediate spaces left by these numberless little seas, grows an inferior kind of indigo, which must have its place changed every year. Where the country rises from the level, it is but with ungrateful sands or frightful rocks, interspersed, from distance to distance, with pastures of the nature of rush.

The English government, seeing that North America could never enrich them by the productions peculiar to that country, thought of the powerful motive of premiums, for making, in this part of the new world, linen, wine, and silk. The poverty of the soil, which would not bear flax, obstructed the first of these views; the badness of the climate, which was not proper for vines, opposed the success of the second; and the want of hands permitted not the third to take place. The Society established at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, was not more fortunate than the ministry had been. Its premiums did not give birth to any one of the objects which it had proposed to the activity and industry of those countries.

Great Britain was obliged to content herself with selling every year to these countries, merchandize to the amount of something more than fifty millions*. The consumers of this merchandize delivered up to her, exclusively, their indigo, their iron, their tobacco, and

* 2,187,500 l.

their furs. They delivered up to her whatever the rest of the globe had given them in money and raw materials, for their wood, their corn, their fish, their rice, and their salted provisions. Yet the balance was always so much against them, that, when the troubles began, the colonies owed from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty millions † to the mother-country, and had no cash in circulation.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, there had been successively formed, within the thirteen provinces, a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight persons, including four hundred thousand negroes. Oppression and intolerance were continually driving thither new inhabitants. The war has now barred this refuge to the unhappy; but the peace will open it to them again; when they will flock thither in greater numbers than ever. They who shall go with projects of cultivation will not have all the satisfaction which they may promise themselves, because they will find the whole of the good land, and even the middling, occupied; and there will be nothing to be offered them but barren sands, unhealthy marshes, or craggy mountains. Emigration will be more favourable to manufactures and artists, though even they may, perhaps, gain nothing by the change of their country and climate.

We cannot determine, without rashness, what may one day be the population of the United States. Such a calculation, generally pretty difficult, becomes impracticable for a region where the land degenerates very rapidly, and where the expence of labour and improvement is not proportionably answered by the reproduction. If ten millions of men ever find a certain subsistence in these provinces, it will be much. Even then the exportation will be reduced to nothing, or next to nothing: but interior industry will replace foreign industry. The country, in a little time, will be able to furnish subsistence for itself, provided that the inhabitants know how to make themselves happy by œconomy and with mediocrity.

† From 5,250,000 l. to 5,687,500 l.

Ye people of North America, let the example of all the nations who have gone before you, and above all that of your mother country, serve you for instruction. Dread the affluence of gold, which brings with luxury the corruption of manners, the contempt of laws. Dread a too unequal distribution of riches, which exhibits a small number of citizens in opulence, and a great multitude of citizens in extreme poverty; whence springs the insolence of the former, and the debasement of the latter. Secure yourselves against the spirit of conquest. The tranquillity of an empire diminishes in proportion to its extension. Have arms for your defence; have none for offence. Seek competency and health in labour; prosperity in the culture of lands, and the workshops of industry; power in good manners and virtue. Cause arts and sciences, which distinguish the civilised man from the savage, to flourish and abound. Above all, watch carefully over the education of your children. It is from public schools, be assured, that come the wise magistrates, the well-trained and courageous soldiers, the good fathers, the good husbands, the good brothers, the good friends, the good men. Wherever the youth are seen depraved, the nation is on the decline. Let liberty have an immoveable foundation in the wisdom of your laws, and let it be the indissoluble cement to bind your provinces together. Establish no legal preference amongst the different forms of worship. Superstition is innocent, wherever it is neither persecuted nor protected; and may your duration, if it be possible, equal the duration of the world!

11 JY 64

THE END.

I N D E X.

A.

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* In vol. ii. p. 211. l. 9. for *Dutch* read *English*.

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